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M. Litt. Museum and Gallery Studies
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**COLLECTING DRAWINGS;
A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF THE DRAWING COLLECTION**

**With a Proposal for an Exhibition of Sixteenth and Seventeenth
Century Italian Drawings
Rebirth in Baroque Lines**



ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to identify the nature of the art of drawing and recognition of the drawing as a collectable item. Revealing drawing as a universal language of communication and a unique, highly individual and expressive art form, the history of the collecting of drawings is traced. Drawing was seen as an important part of the creative act, essential to the artist's training and representative of the very birth of art, a recognition which led to the earliest collections of drawings in sixteenth century Italy. The first collections were formed by artists, continuing the tradition of preserving drawings in the artist's studio. As the artist gained autonomy drawings also began to be collected by aristocrats and antiquarians as an adjunct to other works of art, or as independent, historical collections. Following this, drawings began to be collected outside Italy and in Britain and France, due to the interest generated in Italian art and classical antiquity through the Grand Tour, and the subsequent growth of the art market and flow of works of art. This led to the appearance of the connoisseur or drawing specialist in France, and the great eighteenth century English drawing collections formed by artists and aristocrats, as well as the first art historical and theoretical writing in Britain, which included writing on the art of drawing. With the nineteenth century came the appearance of the art museum as collections shifted from private to public ownership. With particular reference to drawing collections in Scotland, the history of the drawings and the formation of the Prints and Drawings Department in the National Gallery of Scotland is surveyed, and comparative public collections in Scotland which include drawings of local interest and/or by Scottish artists, but few old masters. Little evidence moreover was found of drawings of any interest in Scottish private collections. Finally, discussing the role of the art museum of today with a collection of drawings, its primary purpose is to make them accessible to the public through exhibitions and literature, responding to the recent interest shown in drawings, a medium in accordance with twentieth century ideas on art. In conclusion, a proposal for an exhibition of sixteenth and seventeenth century Italian drawings from the collection in the National Gallery of Scotland is put forward. The choice of drawings from this period, which marks the beginning of the recognition and collecting of drawings, reflects the unique and timeless nature of the art of drawing, and the catalogue attempts to celebrate each drawing's beauty and individuality.

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Fig 1: Pier Francesco Mola

Two Sleeping Figures with Still Life of Flasks and Bottles

Pen, brown ink and wash

National Gallery of Scotland

SECTION ONE

INTRODUCTION: The Mystery and the Art of Drawing

Words move, music moves
Only in time; but that which is only living
Can only die. Words, after speech, reach
Into the silence. Only by the form, the pattern,
Can words or music reach
The stillness, as a Chinese jar still
Moves perpetually in its stillness...

The detail of the pattern is movement...
Caught in the form of limitation
Between un-being and being...
Quick, now, here, now, always...¹

A thing as mysterious and primordial as language itself, of
which it sets up a universal type, drawing is the womb of art.²

According to the sixteenth century artist and art historian Giorgio Vasari, drawing was the ultimate source of artistic practice. He told that the earliest artistic representation was made by a Greek, Gyges of Lydia, who, according to Pliny, drew his shadow in outline on the wall with a piece of charcoal. Although a fable reiterated by writers before and after Vasari, this tale reveals the recognition of drawing as "the animating principle of all creative processes"; the basis, or womb of art³.

¹ T. S. Eliot Four Quartets Burnt Norton (V)

² J. Leymarie/G. Monnier (1979) p.vii

³ Vasari/Bull (1965) p.25

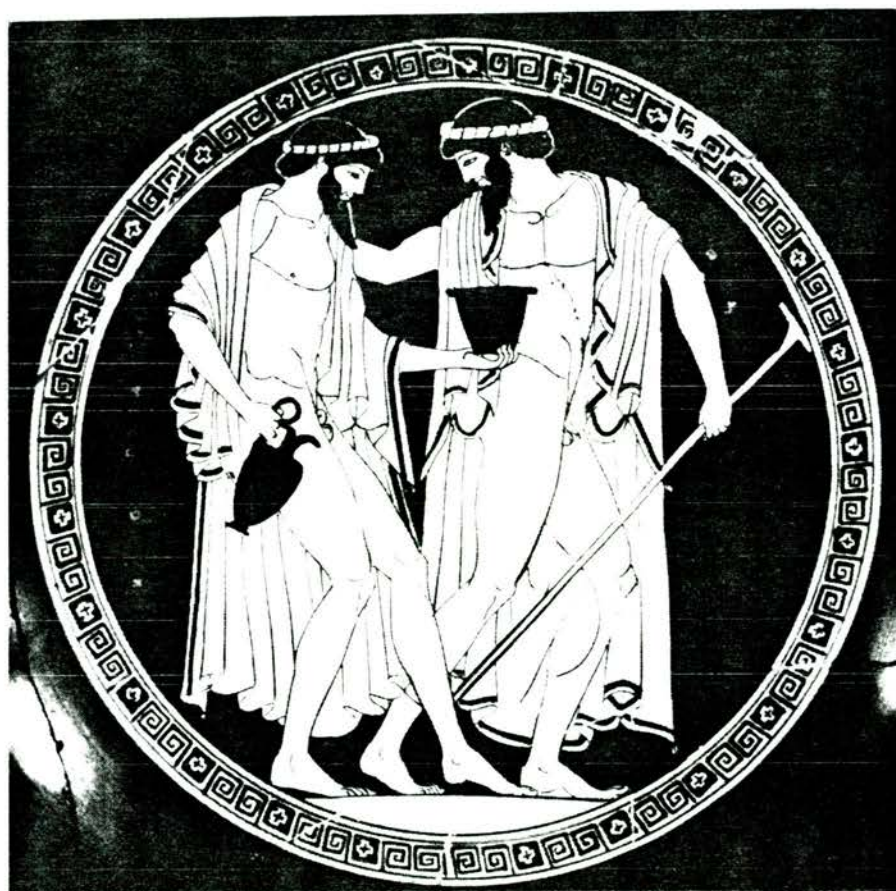


Fig 2: Kylix from Vulci
Two Revellers, Attic-red Figures
First quarter of fifth century BC

The art of drawing has thus long been seen as a magical or divine creative act. This has been apparent not only in the West, but in the art of cultures across the world. From the tentative lines of prehistoric cave paintings and the slow deliberation of Egyptian hieroglyphics and wall decorations, to the refined simplicity of the figures on Greek vases and economic calligraphy of Japanese brush drawings or abstract Indian or Persian lines (fig 2, 3), the power of line can be universally comprehended across cultural barriers and through history. The art of drawing thus carries a sense of historical continuum;

I would propose that drawing constitutes a super-text (definitely not a sub-text) to the history of art.⁴

Drawing is therefore a comprehensive medium of expression, which, although like any work of art reflecting and refracting its temporal ambience, overcomes time itself. While language is continually in a state of flux within its cultural or geographical boundaries, the apparently dumb lines and marks of a drawing are embodied with a permanency and universal ability to communicate.

The lines and marks which constitute a drawing are by nature unique; part of the great attraction of drawing is its autograph quality, its immediacy and intimacy. Primarily drawing is a representation created with particular media through line and tone with a simplicity and immediacy. Line is however traditionally the foremost element of drawing;

Leave out this line and you leave out life itself; all is chaos again,
and the line of the almighty must be drawn out upon it before
man or beast can exist.⁵

⁴ D. Petherbridge (1991) p.15

⁵ William Blake, M. Eaves (1982) p.20



Fig 3: The Emperor Jahangir with a Falcon

Brush and black ink, heightened with touches of colour, on tan paper

Mughal c 1620

Private Collection

As the primal source of all art was considered the outline drawn around a shadow on the wall, line was thought of as the genesis of art, without which art had neither structure nor form. This was expressed in writing from the Renaissance onwards: references to learning the art of painting - and similarly sculpture or architecture - begin with drawing;

As has been said, you begin with drawing...(drawing) is the path to lead you to the profession of painting. Follow it as constantly as much as you can, for it is the essence of your study.⁶

Through drawing the artist was trained to develop his skill in manual dexterity, drawing from nature and learning the sciences of perspective, proportion and anatomy. As art increasingly became associated with mimesis, drawing was the means through which the artist learned to imitate nature, analysing and synthesising various elements to recreate them on the painted or drawn ground in a perfect image. The concept of drawing as the very genesis of art was thus paralleled by the practical role of drawing, the very starting point of the magical process of artistic creation .

In sixteenth century Italy the preeminence of drawing assumed a further impetus with the disegno-colore dispute, in which drawing or design and colour were separated and held up against one another - most explicitly illustrated by the distinction between the Florentine school, representing disegno, against the Venetian, representing colore. The Italian word disegno however connotes more than the direct English translation of drawing; subsumed in the single word are the ideas of both drawing and design⁷. Line or outline structures and abstracts form;

⁶ Cennini/Thompson (1954) pp.14/19

⁷ "Perhaps the Italian word disegno, which refers to both design and drawing comes closer to the our meaning. The two acts - "the draw" and "to design" - are

not existing in nature, line comes from within the artist and is imposed upon form recreating it in a and visually translation. Disegno is thus an external realisation of the inner conception or idea;

...disegno is not other than a visible expression and declaration of our inner conception and of that which others have imagined and given form to in their idea.⁸

Colour on the other hand stems from the tactile and visually immediate elements of external reality, thus is essentially sensual and ephemeral. Colour fulfills a decorative role, filling-in between the lines, while the lines are the elemental base and structure without which the form would collapse. As Blake stated, "leave out this line and you leave out life itself".

The structuring lines of drawing thus led to the creation of a finished work of art through a hierarchical system, moving from the idea to its final realisation in the "serial developmental process"⁹. From the first roughly sketched idea - primo pensiero - the process moved to further studies and detail studies, and the final composition study - modello - to the underdrawing - sinopie - on the wall or canvas. Gradually this process evolved to include colour, although suggested from the early Renaissance, when drawings were often executed on a coloured ground with emphatic applications of white heightening; by the Baroque, drawings were rendered almost purely in wash or in rubbed or stumped chalk, thus merging line into colour. Academic practices continued to emphasise line over colour and the importance of drawing and design, but a calligraphic painterliness and freedom of execution developed with the increased use of the media of ink and chalk, resolving the disegno-colore distinction. And continuing to evolve and change, in the

indeed interrelated. We may call composition the act of giving a unique sense of order, a life, to the forms we chose to work with." B. Chaet (1983) p.22

⁸ Vasari on Technique trans. L. S. Maclehorse (1960) p.205

⁹ Petherbridge (1991) p.13



Fig 4: Henri Matisse (1896-1954)

Blue Nude I 1952

Cut and pasted paper, prepainted with gouache

Collection Ernst Beyeler, Basel

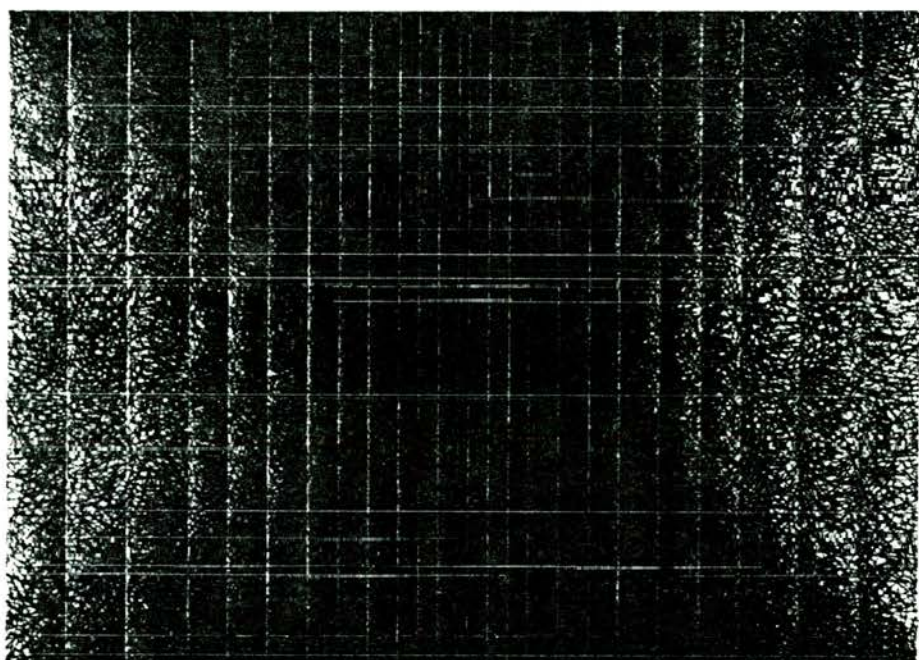
twentieth century drawing has assumed a new relevance as a new value and meaning is attached to the qualities for which drawings have long been admired. Spontaneity, immediacy, intimacy and abstraction have become important not only to drawing but also to painting, and as the gap between drawing and painting has narrowed, the traditional conceptions of what a drawing is has too been questioned (fig 4, 5). Artists continue to make preparatory studies, but the distinctions separating the finished work and the preparatory drawing have become blurred; line is no longer preeminent, but equal to tone or colour;

Drawing and painting are no longer different factors, as one paints one draws...¹⁰

At the same time the drawings of the past have assumed a renewed interest for the twentieth century viewer, as the art of drawing is appreciated as an autonomous and highly personal art form.

Drawing has thus been recognised since the Renaissance as a unique art of discovery and communication, an intellectual and sensory experience. It was moreover with the recognition of the importance of drawing to artistic practice and the developing autonomy of the artist that drawings first began to be collected as works of art. The first collectors of drawings were artists, continuing the studio tradition of preserving a corpus of drawings and designs to work from. Vasari, the major champion of disegno, was the earliest recorded systematic collector of drawings as independent works of art, a collection formed in the mid-sixteenth century as an illustration to his historical thesis and his biographies of artists. Following from him, artists, antiquarians and aristocrats began to include drawings in their collections. By the eighteenth century, as other types of art spread north,

¹⁰ Paul Cezanne Leymarie/Monnier (1979) p.200; c.f. Anish Kapoor Drawings (ex Tate 1990) where drawings have become blobs and blotches of paint, without line.



Minneapolis/Edinburgh drawing

Kenneth Dingwall 1974

Fig 5: Kenneth Dingwall (1938-)
Minneapolis/Edinburgh Drawing 1974
Pencil and acrylic
Artist's Collection

great numbers of drawings reached collections in the north of Europe and across the Channel to Britain. Thus the great artists' and aristocratic collections were formed in Britain, and in France the connoisseur and drawing specialist evolved.

These patterns of collecting drawings have continued similarly into and through the twentieth century. In a world of constant change and fluctuation, collections are continually being broken up, sold, and new collections formed. Through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, new collectors across the Atlantic and elsewhere have increased, acquiring, amongst other works of art, large numbers of drawings. These include drawings from the Italian Renaissance and Baroque periods, as well as drawings reflecting local patriotism, as collected by Vasari¹¹. The essential pattern of collecting has thus remained the same, with obvious changes in fashion and economics influencing the flow of works of art. As with the earliest collections, drawings are only sometimes displayed, for the most part remaining stored in folios due to their fragile and sensitive nature. They thus hold an ambiguous position in a collection, lying somewhere between the conventional notions of a literary and an art collection; neither ostentatious, as with other works of art, nor purely historically or intellectually orientated, as antiquarian or bibliographic collections. Italian drawings of the Renaissance and the Baroque have been collected since the sixteenth century and the earliest collections of drawings, due in part to the preeminence of Italian art theory, endorsing the art of the Renaissance. The immediate attraction of Baroque drawings has moreover, unlike the painted works of the same period, held an undying appeal for the collector across the centuries. Consequently a relatively large number of drawings from these periods survive, and drawings of the Renaissance and the Baroque continue to attract attention and big money. The refined and static drawings of the

¹¹ as Vasari's collection was biased towards drawings by local Tuscan artists, Scottish collections including drawings tend towards collecting Scottish drawings of local topographical or historical interest, see below.

Renaissance were replaced by the painterly and mobile drawings of the Baroque, which almost reveal a showiness and awareness of the spectator approaching public art, yet still that inherent mystery and intimacy of the drawing medium which makes them attractive (fig 1).

Until this century, literature on drawing was of a limited and narrow nature. The journal Old Master Drawings was first published in 1926, becoming Master Drawings in 1963¹². Writing on the art of drawing has increased through the century in various publications; catalogues, monographs and theses. Much of this literature however has been more concerned with attributions, provenances, chronologies and affiliations, representing drawings as historical documents - which they undeniably are - but conveying little appreciation of the drawing as an autonomous, unique and exciting work of art. However, some development has been made towards creative writing on drawings in both journals and independent literature. And as those first recognising the value and importance of drawings as works of art and as collectable items, artists are the natural authors of some of this literature¹³. With the revaluation of the art of drawing and its relevance to a twentieth century artistic comprehension, a greater recognition and increase in writing on drawing is apparent. This is further revealed in exhibitions of drawings, accompanied by imaginatively written and constructed catalogues. Furthermore, exhibitions from private or parts of public collections bring together numbers of drawings from various periods - although still emphasising the "Old Master" drawings from the Italian Renaissance, Baroque, and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Northern Europe. Exhibitions however also show drawings

¹² c.f. H. Macandrew (1980), intro on the Keeper and editor of Old Master Drawings, K. T. Parker.

¹³ i.e. Chaet (1983); Petherbridge (1991); H Hodgkin (ex cat 1983) etc.



Fig 6: Henri Matisse (1896-1954)
Jackie IX 1947
Conte crayon
Private Collection

from an individual school, period, or artist, and different cultures and periods, thus asserting the universal language in which drawing communicates¹⁴.

It is this timeless language of immediacy which makes the art of drawing relevant today. The break down of the distinction between finished painting and rough sketch has enabled drawings to assume a renewed importance. Drawings of the past and of different cultures can communicate as paintings of the past cannot. With a freedom of expression, spontaneous and economic application of line or tone, drawing captures forms from the external world or the imagination and realises them in a "pattern of movement" which becomes a universal and permanent language; "Quick, now, here, now, always". And as such drawings will be, it is hoped, enjoyed and collected in the future (fig 6).

Having established the unique nature of the art of drawing, this thesis goes on to trace the developing patterns of collecting drawings from the sixteenth century in Italy to later collections in Britain to this day, concluding with a proposal for an exhibition of sixteenth and seventeenth century drawings from the collection in the National Gallery of Scotland. In structure reflecting an exhibition catalogue, each historical exegesis is introduced with a short essay and followed by examples of different collectors and types of collections. The final concluding catalogue of drawings from the Edinburgh collection adds a stylistic and thematic continuum, representing the value of drawings as autonomous works of art. From the first collections of drawings to their use in a public collection today, drawings thus retain their eloquence and individual quality.

¹⁴ c.f. recent exhibitions; Guercino Drawings from British Collections (1991 British Museum), The Primacy of Drawing (1991 South Bank Touring Exhibition), Drawings from the Courtauld Institute (1991), Italian Figure Drawings (1992 National Gallery of Scotland), Otto Dix The Dresden Collection of Works on Paper (1992 Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art) etc

CHAPTER 1: From Pattern Book to Collector's Volume, the Genesis of the Drawing Collection

The recognition of drawings as collectable items first emerged during the Italian Renaissance, with the rise in the status of art, apparent in the surge of literature on art, corresponding with the increased status of the artist. By the sixteenth century art was established as a liberal art and collecting patterns had changed: drawings had begun to be seen as valuable objects and as autonomous art forms, thus becoming interesting as collectable works of art.

A collector will only collect items of value, whether economic, sentimental, or relating to taste. Thus drawings only began to be collected when imbued with some sort of value. The first collections enhanced their rising value; they were moreover the collections of artists. Artists were the first to recognise and preserve a drawing for its quality, as an example of the hand of a particular master - the concept of the master or genius itself a new idea - or as a technical record. The most obvious early example was Giorgio Vasari's collection of drawings, his Libro di Disegni.

Vasari, as an artist and collector of drawings, was however continuing a long established tradition. In the Medieval workshop the pattern or model book - a number of drawings or motifs on vellum or parchment and bound in a volume - was preserved as reference material, handed down from one workshop to another, one generation to the next. The practice of preserving drawings in the workshop was still carried out in Vasari's time and after ¹, although the style of the drawings

¹ Cardinal Albani collection, see below, with drawings which passed from the Carracci workshop to Domenichino and to his pupil Francesco Raspantino, from whom it was sold to the artist Carlo Maratta in 1665; see also C. Goldstein (1988), Ch.4 on the use of the Carracci workshop drawings and the studio collection of Old Master drawings from which pupils worked etc as referred to by Malvasia (1678)

had by the cinquecento changed from the motifs of emphatic precision and clarity to the looser exploratory sketch, executed on paper.

As the availability of paper increased, sketches previously executed on wood-blocks and obliterated or discarded began to be drawn on paper². But paper was still an expensive commodity so the pattern-book tradition was continued. With the increased use of paper artists however began to make looser sketches, and through the quattrocento and cinquecento assumed a greater freedom of representation as the formal uses of the pattern-book became redundant. No longer relying on the designs current in his workshop or preserved in the shop model-book, the artist placed a new emphasis on observation and the use of the imagination, an emphasis echoed in treatises and writings on art.

Appreciation of the loose sketch subsequently developed through the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth centuries, when in the Baroque it became a showpiece for the artist to show off his talent or genius. In the eighteenth century this appreciation is apparent in the reference by the younger Zanetti concerning the appreciation of the elder Zanetti's prints;

There are people who like prints engraved with great speed and liveliness and with broad strokes. Such people are artists and, with them, those people who are held to be perfect connoisseurs. On the other hand the general public likes carefully finished prints, and especially those with strong contrasts of light and shade, which strike the imagination at first sight.³

² paper first came into use in the West in the middle ages from China, increasing in quality and production in the fifteenth century and decreasing in price as a result of the developments in printing. The early paper was made of rag pulp - not from wood pulp until the nineteenth century.

³ 1760, ref Haskell (1963) p.343

Zanetti here refers to prints - the loosely executed print only began to be appreciated in the eighteenth century; regarded in the same light as a painted work, the print was supposedly highly finished - but the reference could be attached to drawings. According to Zanetti, it is only artists and connoisseurs who appreciate loose, free drawing, not the general public. Thus only a small minority of artists and connoisseurs appreciated loose sketches, while the highly finished "presentation" drawings remained consistently popular. The earliest collections were therefore those of artists. The workshop tradition of preserving drawings, generation to generation, evolved from the pattern-book tradition to masters bequeathing collections of drawings to pupils and followers; as drawings from the Carracci workshop in Bologna passed to Domenichino, a member of the workshop, and in turn to his pupil, Raspantino, and Leonardo left his drawing collection - with his books, instruments, workshop paraphernalia and so on - to his pupil and friend, Francesco Melzi. In the same way the Venetian painter, Jacopo Bellini, left his drawings to his son and successor Gentile - by this time beautifully preserved in volumes in recognition of their value as works of art - Guercino's drawings were passed to his descendants, the Gennari family, and Rembrandt's were preserved by his pupil, Govaert Flinck, and so on; the list is endless⁴. Collections were even formed by near contemporary artists of another artist's drawings, as in the case of Timoteo Viti's collection of Raphael's drawings, his fellow artist in Urbino⁵.

⁴ The Bellini volumes subsequently found their way to the collections in the Louvre and the British Museum (c.f. B. Degenhardt/A. Schmidt (1984)); furthermore Rubens referred to his drawings in his will - "...the drawings which he had collected and made he ordered to be held and preserved for the benefit of any of his sons who would want to follow him in the art of painting, or, failing such, for the benefit of any of his daughters who might marry a recognised painter." ref. J. S. Held (1986) p.16

⁵ The Viti collection was inherited by the Antali family of Pesaro and subsequently sold, dispersed and scattered into numerous later collections, such as the Lawrence collection of Raphael drawings which went to the Ashmolean - see below; the Gennari collection of Guercino's drawings included works by Guercino's contemporaries and precursors, probably collected by Guercino himself, another artist-collector, c.f. N. Turner/C. Plazzotta Drawings by Guercino in British Collections (ex.cat.1991) p.20.

Although of great importance to the history of collecting drawings, Vasari's collection was however exceptional as it was closely connected to his art historical writing, the Lives of the Artists, Sculptors, and Architects of which the Libro di Disegni formed an appendix. Such biographical writing was a new departure in the history of art, and reflects the rising status of the artist. By the sixteenth century the artist was established as a professional and no longer merely a manual worker or craftsman. The Medieval guild system, which had held control of monopoly over the workshop, broke down, and was rapidly replaced by new Academies teaching artistic and theory and practice. The first academy was Vasari's Accademia del Disegno in Florence, established mid-sixteenth century and closely followed by the Carracci Academy in Bologna, modelled on the concept of a university faculty. The very desire to establish an Academy rather than a studio reflected the increased status of art and the artist's attitude towards his profession. Art began to be recognised as one of the liberal arts, with music, poetry and drama, reinforced by the literature on art theory which formed a philosophical base on which art rested. Artists gained a greater freedom and respect as individuals and decisions concerning commissioned works of art were increasingly left to them. Thus artists developed a greater independence and autonomy in their work and position in society.

As a consequence art was increasingly seen as an intellectual pursuit: Leonardo described the artist working to the sound of music or to readings of literature, the artist himself a gentleman scarcely dirtying his hands, in comparison to the sculptor who has to dirty himself in his manual labour⁶, and Vasari emphasised the high character, religious sensibility and morality of the artists in his biographies. Artists mixed freely with great rulers and Popes, the highest in society, who were forced to acknowledge their genius and often to bow to their whim and intellect, representing the artist as a genius who is also imbued with

⁶ Leonardo trans/ed M. Kemp (1989) p.39

power to stand outside the social norm and defy the law. Thus Vasari refers to Raphael in the Lives as embodied with

...the finest qualities of mind accompanied by such grace,
industry, looks, modesty, and excellence of character...

who

...lived more like a prince than a painter...

and was almost divine, a "mortal god"⁷. To an even greater extent Vasari describes Michelangelo's genius, surpassing all others and making him the heroic master of the culmination of the rise of Western art - as Vasari saw it. While Raphael is a "mortal god" living the life of a prince, Michelangelo is "divine",

...a perfect exemplar in life, work, and behaviour and in
every endeavor...

...everything he made whether with the brush or the
chisel, defies imitation, and (as had been said) is imbued
with such art, grace, and distinctive vitality that...he has
surpassed and vanquished the ancients...⁸

Although sycophantic, this revelation of the artist as a demi-god shows his increased status, which led not only to Vasari's biographies but furthermore to the writing of autobiographies. Such writing shows a confidence in the artist's conception of himself. The earliest autobiography was Ghiberti's early quattrocento appendix to his Treatise on art, followed in the cinquecento by Benvenuto Cellini's long autobiography of self-aggrandisement, establishing himself as an artist inspired by God, an intelligent and tough professional, to whom Popes and Kings bowed, and who was feared and acknowledged as a genius in his lifetime - at least the life recorded in the autobiography.

⁷ Vasari/Bull pp.284, 322 & 384

⁸ ibid p.325 & p.418

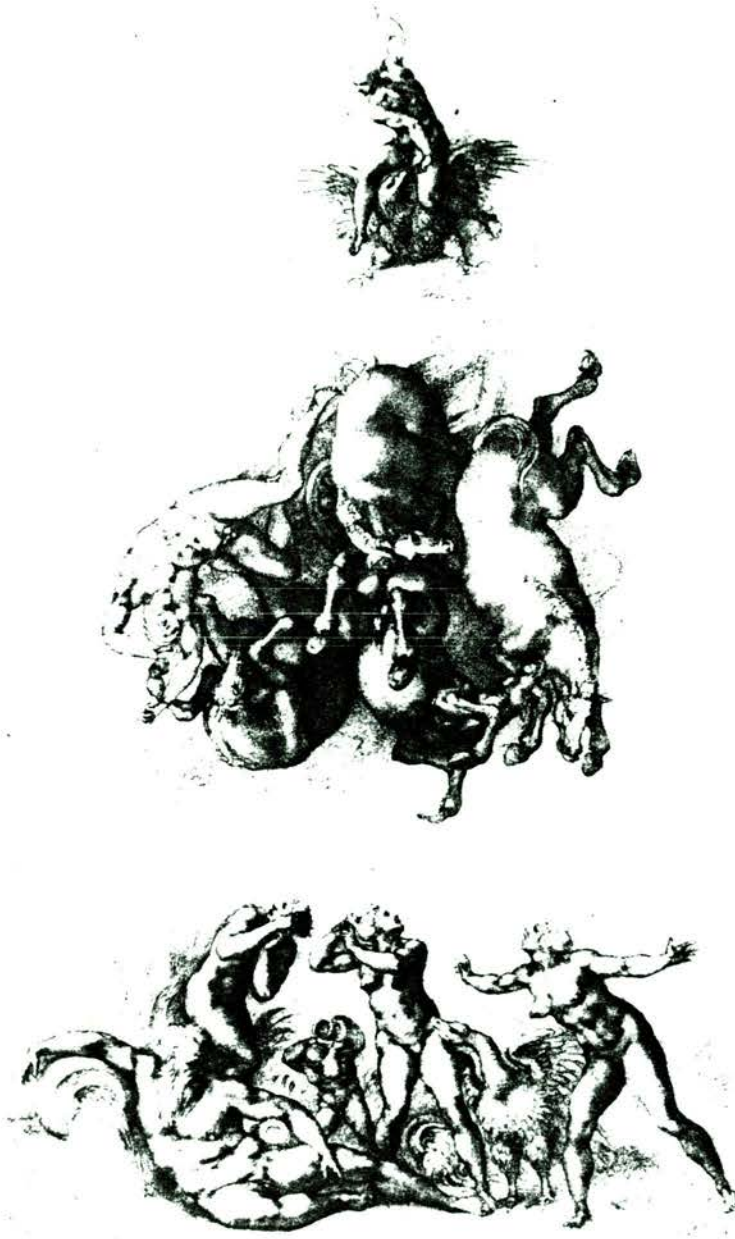


Fig 7: Michelangelo (1475-1564)

The Fall of Phaethon

Black chalk

Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

Such literary self assertion could only be written in a cultural ambience which celebrated the artist and his genius - as Vasari celebrated Michelangelo. The emphatic eulogising of Michelangelo, by Vasari and Condivi, his second biographer, Varchi, the orator at Michelangelo's funeral, and numerous artists and art historians - even Cellini in his autobiography continually expresses admiration for Michelangelo - established a cult of genius in the sixteenth century. This was echoed in the seventeenth century with Faberio's oration at Agostino Carracci's funeral and Bellori's biography of Annibale Carracci, attempting to establish the Carracci as the new genius restoring art to the brilliance of the High Renaissance. The artist was seen as a divine being, inspired by God to create art that represented not this world but a divine perfection of nature and reality, a sort of intermediary figure between God and ordinary man, subject to his inner voice or guiding instincts. Thus the process of the creation of a work of art paralleled that of God's own creation, and the evidence of the process, revealed in drawings and sketches, show the workings of the mind of the superhuman.

Michelangelo gave his drawings as gifts to close friends or admirers of his art; called "presentation drawings", these were highly finished drawings, worked up in preparatory studies, and given in a gesture which reveals the value attached to the drawings by both the artist and the recipient (fig 7). The presentation drawing represents the highest value a drawing could attain, but gradually the loose or unfinished sketch similarly increased in value, although only really appreciated by connoisseurs. This appreciation was precursed by Vasari's collections, the value of which he continually referred to throughout his biographies, and increased in the Baroque.

Thus with the rise in the status of art and the position of the artist, and the recognition of the artist's genius developing into a cult of the genius, an interest began to be taken in the working methods of the artist. From the quattrocento a

new value began to be attached to his preparatory work, not only for painted works but also in sculptural modelli and studies for etchings, painted sketches and prints. With this came the first, primarily artists', collections of drawings in the cinquecento. As cheaper and more accessible works of art, drawings and works on paper gradually became collectable items of value, not only to the connoisseur and art historical collector, but also to the aristocratic collector.

The first collections of drawings were in Florence and Tuscany, where artistic theory had developed to emphasise the role of drawing in the creative process and as the genesis of artistic practice and art itself, and where art began to be recognised as a liberal art. For Vasari, the earliest comprehensive collector recorded, drawing was the foundation of all art, therefore the prime importance stimulating his desire to collect drawings as part of his historical exegesis. Vasari however was not the sole collector; there are early records of drawing collections also belonging to art patrons and amateurs, as part of collections of works of art in various media. Thus they were collected both for scholarly and aesthetic interests, for their artistic or sentimental value or as a scholarly collection illustrating a particular theme^{9:1}. In these collections they were only sometimes displayed, for the most part remaining stored in large volumes as part of a library, with a passive rather than an active role in a collection, unlike paintings and sculpture which fulfil the function of decoration⁹. Forming a less ostentatious collection, the collecting of drawings was usually undertaken by a more intellectual, less showy type of art patron.

^{9:1}An inventory from the collection of Francesco Baiardo in Parma (d. 1561) lists 558 drawings, including seven volumes of Parmagianino drawings c.f. A.E. Popham "The Baiardo Inventory" (1967), pp. 26-9; also reference to amateur collectors such as Gabriel Vendramin who formed a collection of drawings around 1530, c.f. J. Held "The Early Appreciation of Drawings" (1963), p. 79-83. The collection of drawings was thus peculiar not only to Florence, with collections also recorded in Parma, Venice and elsewhere. I emphasise Vasari's exceptional position however as he was the earliest recorded systematic collector of drawings. Although the Florentines did not have precedence, as the Vendramin collection proves.

⁹The 1719 Inventory of the Gennari collection of Guercino drawings lists drawings framed and hanging on the wall as well as in volumes and loose sheets, c.f. Turner/Plazzotta (1991) p. 20

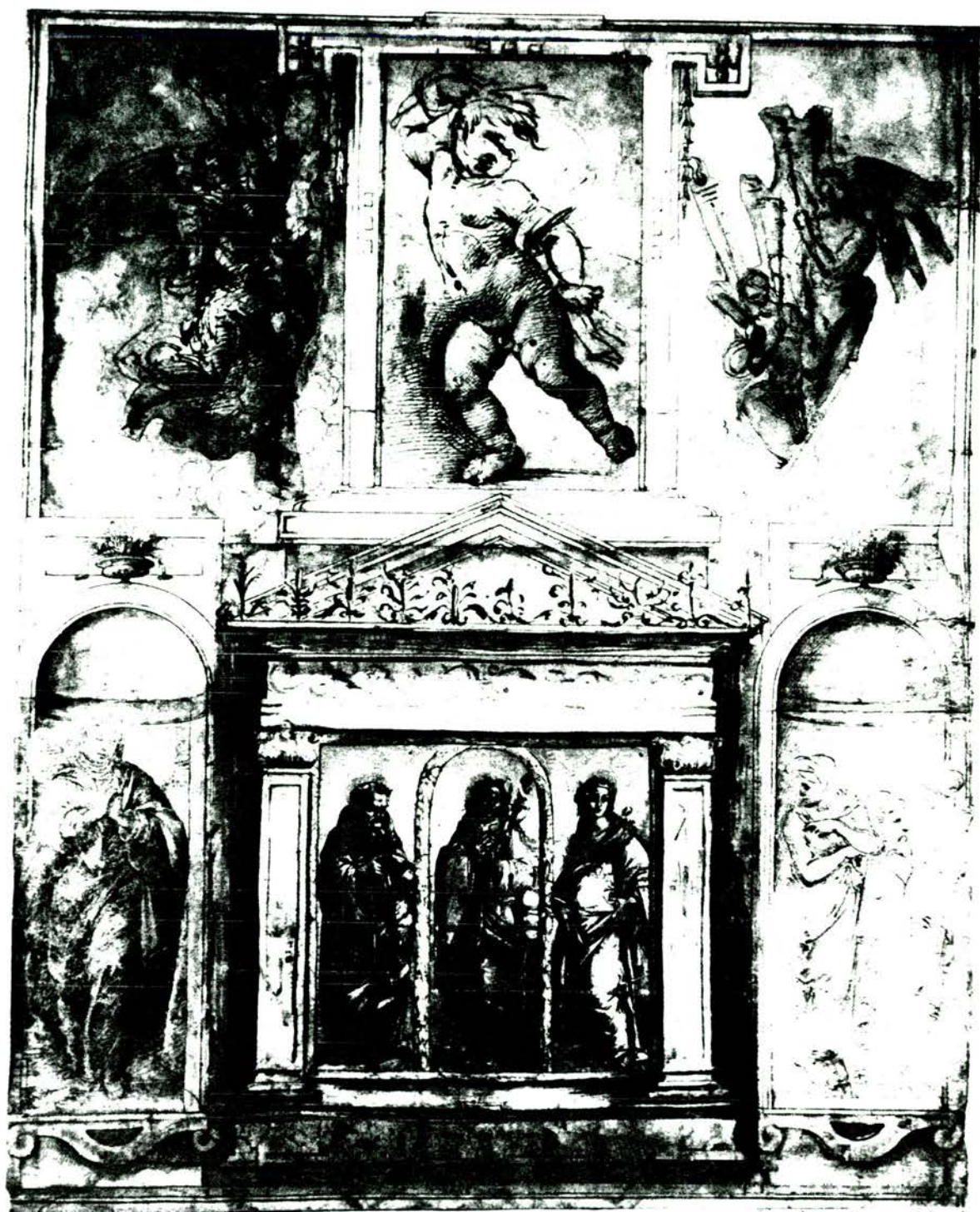


Fig 8: A Page from Vasari's Libro

Filippino Lippi (1475-1504) & Sandro Botticelli (1447-1510)
Woodner Collection

By the seventeenth century, the collecting of drawings was no longer restricted to the area of Tuscany, where Vasari emphasised the importance of disegno. Collectors in Rome, Venice and elsewhere began to show an interest in the aesthetic qualities of drawings. Due to Vasari's preeminence in the art historical field and the fame of Tuscan disegno, Tuscan drawings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries called the highest bids. Gradually however as the Baroque period took full swing, the more showy and painterly drawings of the Venetian, Bolognese and Roman schools began to realise a new value and appreciation. In the seventeenth century dealers, middle-men between the artist and collector, began to appear, purchasing drawings on spec for subsequent sale. As the dealers necessarily chose marketable works the inclusion of drawings in their speculations shows the value they had attained by the later seventeenth century. It was through such dealers, with the popularity of the Grand Tour and interest in Italy, that Italian drawings from the quattrocento onwards began to cross the Channel and reach collectors in Britain.

The Earliest Drawing Collection; Vasari's Libro di Disegno

Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) is famous for his contribution to art history, with his well known Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects paving the way for subsequent art historical writing to the present day. Less renowned is Vasari's collection of drawings, his Libro di Disegni, a catalogued appendix to the Lives and probably the earliest systematically recorded collection of drawings (fig 7), unique and of the utmost importance in the history of collecting drawings.

Born in the provincial Tuscan town of Arezzo, Vasari was sent to Florence in about 1524, aged thirteen, where he trained as a painter under Andrea del Sarto. In Florence he also formed connections with the Medici household, becoming a companion to the Medici sons, Alessandro and Ippolyto; this alliance was to last the

rest of his life. In 1527, during the Sack of Rome, the Medici family was overthrown and the republicans took power in Florence; by 1530 however the Medici dynasty had been reinstated, exerting more power than ever. During the Medici exile Vasari travelled to Pisa and Bologna, and in 1530 went to Rome where he established a workshop and undertook various commissions. With their return, the Medici were to devote the rest of the century to holding on to their position, validating and enforcing their power and autonomy. By 1554 Vasari was established as court painter to Grand Duke Cosimo I in Florence, taking charge of decorative schemes, artistic programmes and ultimately Medici art patronage and interests throughout Tuscany.

Vasari's Lives, published in 1550 and again in 1568, was dedicated to Cosimo I; with its strong Tuscan bias it emphasised the leadership of Florentine and Tuscan art which flourished in the Renaissance under the patronage of the Medici, and was further nourished by Cosimo. Thus the Lives defined and validated Medici power, while eulogising Medici patronage of the arts in a period of their increasing decline in military, political and economic spheres, as power shifted to Rome and other national centres.

In 1563 Vasari was partly responsible for establishing the Florentine Accademia del Disegno, the first Academy of art, which was to influence subsequent art institutions in Europe up to the nineteenth century. The organisation of the Accademia recast the former Compagnia di San Luca, the artists' guild organisation, representing the fall of the guild system with the rising intellectual and professional status of the artist. Furthermore, the name Disegno emphasises the Florentine preoccupation with design or drawing; drawing for the Florentines was the very foundation, the base of art, without which neither painting, sculpture nor architecture could be created. This philosophy was inextricably bound with

Vasari's theories of art: art began with disegno, not just in the practical sense but also in the very birth of the practice of art,

According to Pliny, painting was brought to Egypt by Gyges of Lydia: for he says that Gyges once saw his own shadow cast by the light of a fire and instantly drew his own outline on the wall with a piece of charcoal. (Pliny adds that for some time afterwards men used to compose their works using only lines and without colour).¹⁰

The necessity of proficiency in drawing and design is repeated through Vasari's writings, recalling the earlier writings of Cennino Cennini, Alberti and Leonardo¹¹; And as the genesis of artistic creation was paralleled with God's creation of life itself, drawing assumed a yet greater importance as the very beginnings of the creative process. Disegno was a natural talent, a mark of the genius of the artist,

...in our own time simple children, brought up roughly in primitive surroundings, have started to draw instinctively...¹²

The artist draws the image from his mind, an image based on nature but divinely inspired. To be able to do this, proficiency in the art of drawing is necessary, through techniques attained only through practice and intense study of nature and past masters. Thus Vasari criticises the Venetian lack of disegno in his chapter on Titian,

Giorgione failed to see that, if he wants to balance his compositions and to arrange his various inventions well, the painter must first do various sketches on paper to see how everything goes together. The idea which the artist has in his mind must be translated into what the eyes can see, and only then with the assistance of his eyes, can the artist form a sound judgement concerning the inventions he has conceived. In

¹⁰ Vasari/Bull p.27.

¹¹ drawing "is the path to lead you to the profession of painting. Follow it as much as you can, for it is the essence of your study." etc. Cennini/Thompson p.19, reiterated in Alberti's and Leonardo's writings.

¹² Vasari/Bull p.31.

a nude he must study it extremely carefully, and he can only do this by making use of drawings...by constantly drawing on paper he gradually learns how to design and paint with ease when he comes to execute the final work; and when he acquires experience in this way he develops perfect judgement and style...Moreover the use of drawings furnishes the artist's mind with beautiful conceptions and helps him to depict everything in the natural world from memory; he has no need to keep his subject in front of him all the time or to conceal under the charm of his colouring his lack of knowledge of how to draw, as for many years...did the Venetian painters...¹³

Vasari's Vite was the first such historical record of artists; previously artists' lives were mentioned in passing in various literary forms, in the comic-burlesque novella and historic Chronicles, or in brief references in poetry were praised for their work¹⁴. In the first half of the Quattrocento, Lorenzo Ghiberti wrote a Commentari on art with an autobiographical section which must be the first autobiography by an artist. Technical treatises were also written in the quattrocento by Leon Battista Alberti, Leonardo da Vinci and others, which developed writing on art from the earlier handbook on the practice of painting and drawing by Cennino Cennini¹⁵. Although not direct precedents for Vasari's historicising, they inevitably influenced his attitude to art and way of thinking, and set the scene for the writing of art historical literature as the Lives, in which Vasari related the lives of artists with brief technical references, lists of their works and a lot of interesting gossip and detail concerning their day-to-day lives. These works thus paved the way for Vasari in representing and emphasising the intellectual standing of art, thus raising the status of the artist and beginning to recognise him as the creative genius upheld by Vasari.

¹³ *ibid* p.243-44

¹⁴ such as the novella, Boccaccio's Decameron (1353), Villani's Chronicles (1300s) and Vasari's reference to Dante's praise of Giotto, Vasari/Bull pp.65-66

¹⁵ Alberti (1435 and 1436, respectively in Latin and Italian); Leonardo's various notations were probably supposed to be a Treatise but never completed or put together by Leonardo; Cennino Cennini (1399/1400)

Written in the vernacular Tuscan tongue, the Lives is separated from Latin texts and technical treatises, as Alberti's was first written in Latin then translated into Tuscan, and appealing to a wider reader-audience. The book is divided into three parts, each prefaced with an introduction which relates the genesis of art to the Creation and describes its development to classical antiquity, while emphasising the role of art in history, albeit Vasari's history, and the role of the artist in society. The three sections divide the development of art into three stages which chronicle the progression of art as a linear development from the late middle-ages to Vasari's contemporaries. It begins with the late medieval artists Cimabue and Giotto, to whom the "rebirth" of art is ascribed, and following from these artists progresses through the quattrocento, from the metaphorical birth of Tuscan art, moving into childhood, and finally coming to full maturity in the cinquecento and to its culmination with Vasari's great hero, Michelangelo. A cyclical pattern of decline and rebirth is thus formed: the Libro di Disegni followed the same pattern of development¹⁶.

This view of the development of art in Italy has permeated through art history in the West from the sixteenth century to the present day. Consequently art collecting has also been influenced by the pre-eminence of Tuscan art; not of the least importance in this trend is Vasari's own collection of drawings which echoes and enforces this art historical view.

Vasari collected drawings throughout his life; the earliest record of his collecting is in about 1528, when he purchased a group of drawings from Vittorio Ghiberti, from the collection/workshop of Lorenzo Ghiberti¹⁷; through his travels

¹⁶ this cyclical pattern led to the subsequent notion of the Carracci "rebirth" of art from decline to a re-establishment of the values and heady heights of the High Renaissance, but for Vasari himself seems leave him in a period of limbo - the Maniera - following the High Renaissance.

¹⁷ Vasari/Bull 1965, p.122-3, Life of Ghiberti, refers to some Ghiberti and other drawings collected by Vasari in 1528, "...I had these designs, along with some by Giotto and others, from Vittoria Ghiberti

and connections with numerous artists - various agents in different Italian cities sent him information for the Lives and, no doubt, drawings - he was able to collect through opportunity rather than by vast expenditure or careful planning. He refers to his collection throughout the Lives, bringing the ever-present voice of the author again and again to the reader's attention and establishing a factual base or back-up to his claims

And how well Giotto drew for his time, and what his personal style was like, can be seen from a number of parchments in my book of drawings; these contain water-colours, pen-and-ink drawings, and chiaroscuros with the lights in white, all from his hand...¹⁸

and so on is repeated over again for each artist.

In collecting drawings as examples of artists' work rather than paintings, Vasari reveals a new attitude to drawings which had developed from the quattrocento. Somewhere between the trecento and Vasari, drawings ceased to be merely part of the workshop furniture and to become collectable objects of artistic value in their own right.

Underlying the collecting of drawings as practised by Vasari, there was a mental estimate of their worth which appraised them as documents more intimately expressive than any others of the artists' innermost personality. This was an essentially novel attitude of mind which had come into being only a few generations before.¹⁹

in 1528, when I was still a young man, and I have treasured them ever since because of their beauty and also in memory of such great men..."
E. L. Goldberg (1987) suggests that these were from the workshop of Lorenzo Ghiberti, and were later stolen by Vasari's servant when travelling.

¹⁸ Vasari/Bull 1965, p.78

¹⁹ O. Kurtz (1937) p.1

Vasari's collection probably numbered over a thousand drawings in total; bound in five volumes they were organised as dictated by the Lives, roughly chronological and classified by artist, an illustration to the history of art. The Libro anticipates the modern museum collection in its objectivity, attempting to represent not just Vasari's personal preferences but to document the development of art, although it differs from a modern collection in attaching equal importance to painters, sculptors and architects, where now the interest lies primarily with painters' drawings.

The volumes were separated and the sheets dislodged after Vasari's death as the collection was dispersed, as a higher price could be gained for individual sheets as opposed to the intact volumes. A number of sheets are now in the Uffizi, from the Medici collection; Pietro Vasari, Giorgio's cousin, presented one volume to the Grand Duke Ferdinand shortly after his cousin's death in 1574 and is recorded still in the Medici collection mid-seventeenth century. The Louvre also houses a number of sheets, acquired through the seventeenth century French collector Jabach, who amassed two collections, the first sold to the King of France in 1671, the second to the collector Pierre Crozat, from whom it reached J. P. Mariette and was subsequently broken up and dispersed, some going to the Louvre collection²⁰. The remainder of Vasari's collection is scattered across the world or lost. No inventory of the collection has survived, but a sheet from one of the volumes is recognisable by the decorative border Vasari added after mounting the drawings²¹. This practice of mounting the drawings and decorating the surround was innovative and shows Vasari's high regard for the drawings. Smaller drawings are mounted several to a sheet, with a setting of a monochrome decorative framework,

²⁰ *ibid* refers to J. Richardson statement that Crozat possessed an intact volume of the Libro, which he argues is not possible - and charts the history of the Libro; c.f. also Louvre catalogues (various).

²¹ a limited reconstruction, numbering approximately 160, based on the references to the Libro through the Lives, was published by Kurtz (1937), c.f. also L. R. Collobi (1974) who suggests a reconstruction of 526 drawings/226 artists, ref The Draftman's Eye (1979) pp.21/24, n.150.

ornamental or architectural - trompe l'oeil - surrounding and unifying the different drawings, for example setting them in a triumphal arch or facade (fig 8). The artist's name is inscribed in a decorative cartouche - although Vasari's attributions are not to be taken as infallible, he is throughout the Lives mistaken in his dating and attributions, misinformed or lacking historical material to base his facts on. Where possible a portrait of the artist was also included (as the second edition of the Lives tried to show a portrait of each artist); the title page showed an engraving of Michelangelo by Giorgio Ghisi, paralleling the longest passage in the Lives, the chapter on Michelangelo.

Bringing Vasari Up-to-date: Filippo Baldinucci and Leopoldo Medici

A century after Vasari, Filippo Baldinucci (1625-1697) followed in his footsteps in his work for the Medici and continuation of the Lives with his Notizie de' Professori del Disegno. Like Vasari, he promoted the supremacy of Tuscan art and its role in the Renaissance, and, of equal importance, Medici patronage of art, as well as the importance of disegno.

In 1664 Baldinucci entered the service of the Medici Prince, Leopoldo (1617-1675), cardinal and later priest, to work primarily with his schemes for collecting. Leopoldo's collections already included a vast mixture of antiquities and art, added to in the last decades of his life to include drawings and self-portraits. His patronage also supported Baldinucci's art historical writing up-dating Vasari. After the death of Leopoldo, Baldinucci continued to work on the collections for the less enthusiastic Cosimo III.

Baldinucci's Notizie was published in 1681, in structure and philosophy following Vasari's precedent. The chronological arrangement and emphasis of Florentine or Tuscan art and Medici patronage in the Notizie echoes Vasari's Lives,

which Baldinucci set out to up-date. However, since Vasari's original publication, several biographical accounts of artists had been published in various Italian cities; Baglione's (1642) and Bellori's (1672) in Rome, closely following Vasari; Ridolfi's (1648) in Venice, directly attacking Vasari's claims for the primacy of Tuscan art and poverty of Venetian; and Malvasia's (1678) in Bologna, again attacking Vasari and even more so his contemporary Baldinucci, and asserting Bolognese artistic pre-eminence. The Lives was republished in 1647, bringing a resurgence of interest which influenced subsequent work - little or nothing had been written in the same vein since Vasari up till mid-seventeenth century - and responses to the Vasarian precedent either in adulation, claiming to continue the Lives, or in attack, claiming to replace it.

A continuation of Vasari was planned in Florence under Leopoldo's Medician patronage earlier in the seventeenth century, with the commission first going to Lionardo Dati (1646), then taken over after his death in 1652 by Giovanni Battista Brocchi, from whom the work was assumed by Baldinucci. However most of the corpus work on the Notizie was still to be executed by Baldinucci, who found little of great use in Dati's or Brocchi's notes.

Baldinucci worked throughout his life as a bookkeeper - accountant, estate agent and financial adviser - for various aristocratic patrons, therefore he possessed the necessary organisational and business skills to putting together Leopoldo's collections and the Notizie. The Notizie was planned in the form of a sort of genealogical tree of artists, but grew from there into the vaster, encyclopedic compendium of artists, picking up where Vasari had left off a century earlier.

...my index grew into a literary opus, and my chronology into a chronicle, that is to say, a voluminous collection of notizie

The evolution of Baldinucci's Notizie was inextricably tied with his involvement with Leopoldo's art collection, in particular his collections of drawings and self-portraits. Leopoldo was throughout his life an enthusiastic and imaginative collector, continuing to enforce the symbolism of the Medici protectorate of the arts, although at the same time he became a typical seventeenth century collector, even open-minded enough to collect Venetian works. He was however less a patron of contemporary art, unlike his brothers Gian Caro, Mattias and Ferdinand, collectors and patrons of contemporary artists, and more an enthusiast of historical collecting²³. On his death an inventory of his collections lists large numbers of antique busts and statues, coins and medals, intaglios and cameos, ivory works, rock crystals, as well as portrait miniatures, self-portraits, and Venetian paintings, and an extensive library including over eleven thousand drawings. The collections of artists' self-portraits and drawings were Leopoldo's final and most ambitious projects, taking up the last ten to twenty years of his life. It was these projects in which Baldinucci was most involved.

Leopoldo only launched his scheme to extend his collections to include drawings and artists' self-portraits in the second half of the 1650s and early 1660s. His former interests lay in antiquities and most particularly numismatics; his largest collections up to then were in medals and coins, which were organised traditionally in cabinets, in order of historical progression within geographical divisions. His subsequent art collections in the fields of portraits and drawings marked the culmination of Leopoldo's collecting, and were organised in a method similar to his

²² Notizie 1681, pp.10-13, trans. Goldberg (1987) p. 63

²³ c.f. M. Cambell (1977) on the decoration of the Palace under Ferdinand de Medici; also M. Campbell (1966); although p.134/5 relates Montelatici decorating Leopoldo's apartments in the Pitti Palace.

antiquarian collections. Thus the portrait miniatures were mounted systematically in drawers as medals would be, an innovatory method of storing works of art.

The concept of an art historical museum demonstrating the evolution of style within the various schools was still a radical departure, as was the assumed value of historical exhaustiveness in an art collection. Such ideas, however, had long been implicit in the chronological structure of the books of artists' lives. Indeed, a century earlier Giorgio Vasari assembled an extensive drawing collection to illuminate the historical progress of art.²⁴

Leopoldo's collection of drawings thus followed the precedent of Vasari's Libro di Disegni, although a century later attaining a greater degree of organisation and exactitude. Leopoldo, a much wealthier and more powerful patron than Vasari, approached these new projects with the enthusiasm and experience gained from his earlier collecting. Numerous agents formed contacts working in the various Italian cities - and even in Antwerp - to whom instructions, including lists, "Names of Masters of Whom the Most Serene Prince Leopoldo Has Drawings", were frequently sent out, "...so that you will know those of whom I am but meagerly supplied..."²⁵

The collection expanded most quickly in the 1670s, during the last five years of Leopoldo's life: in June 1673 it numbered 4 292; by September of the same year it had doubled to 8 143, and by the time of Leopoldo's death numbered 11 268²⁶.

Authenticity was of great importance to Leopoldo; on purchasing a drawing or batch of drawings, a committee reviewed the work in the city where it was

²⁴ E. L. Goldberg (1988) p. 42

²⁵ refs. July 1662 and Sept. 1663, *ibid* p.44

²⁶ *ibid* p.45

purchased, applying for further advice from experts where necessary, before the drawing was despatched to Florence to Leopoldo²⁷. There it would be again checked and reviewed by experts in Florence, including Baldinucci, and if rejected, returned. This insistence on the authenticity of the work calls to mind modern practice and reveals an early emphasis attached to the value of a work of art not just as a work of art, but encompassing its monetary value, and in this case even attached to a drawing, integral to the importance of assured authentic attribution.

...in a room... known as the Stanza de Bronzi, were great wardrobes measuring over two braccia, facing each other above and below. Large books of drawings and prints were kept there...²⁸

The systematic organisation of the drawings in Leopoldo's collection shows an attitude to drawings as historical documents, and as such as equally valid as Leopoldo's classical coins and medals. As with Vasari, drawings were chosen by Leopoldo to illustrate the historical development of art. They were stored in volumes, totalling about a hundred by Leopoldo's death, and organised according to school or geographical area. Twenty-two of the volumes were general collections, containing a mixture of artists, while eighty-three contained seventy-two individual masters. Within each volume the drawings were roughly alphabetical, each name thumb-indexed by letter, under which was listed the number of the volume and references to other relevant volumes. The pages were furthermore listed as in a ledger, numbering the drawings of each artist in a column on the left and with a running tabulation at the lower edge of each page, and with a separate summary index to the collection.

²⁷ *ibid* p.44

²⁸ *ref Marmi ibid* p. 29

The volumes became the core of the Uffizi collection, moved from the Pitti Palace to the Uffizi shortly after Leopoldo's death in 1689, where they remained for the most part intact through the end of the Medici dynasty in 1737, the rule of the Lorraine family and finally the unification of Italy in 1860, when the Uffizi and its collections became public property. In the nineteenth century the volumes were however disassembled, suffering the same fate as Vasari's Libro.

Baldinucci was employed by Leopoldo from 1664, from which time he became increasingly involved with the projects of the collections of drawings and self-portraits. His involvement developed until he was the coordinating secretary, based in Florence, from where he contacted and coordinated with the various agents. While working on these collections, he was at the same time continuously amassing material for the ever expanding Notizie, thus forming a direct link between the genesis of the collection and the Notizie and paralleling Vasari's Lives and synonymous Libro. Thus in 1678 he writes to the agent in Siena to glean information on any artist even if no drawings are forthcoming;

Increasing the number of masters renders the collection more famous. Even if you cannot find drawings by these other masters, don't hesitate to note their names and the time of their activity or death...²⁹

Baldinucci was also partly responsible for the organisation of the collection. As large amounts of drawings arrived in Florence, coming in their hundreds especially in the 1670s, it was Baldinucci's efficiency which held a check on the collection, keeping up a detailed running tabulation of them, forming lists of the works, their attributions, desirability and value. And it is in the Notizie that Baldinucci makes his claim for responsibility for the organisation of the collections and the Notizie, both of which required undertaking extensive research,

²⁹ *ibid* p. 66

According to His Reverend Highness' command, I set out to reinforce my studies in this field, applying myself to this for many years...³⁰

Baldinucci himself collected drawings, selling the first of his two collections to Leopoldo. Moreover he came to represent a new sort of art expert, important to collecting as a conniosseur. This role had up to the sixteenth century been the realm of the artist, or artist-conniosseur, only then did the autonomous conniosseur develop - although an early conniosseur, Vasari was of course an artist. With the development of the conniosseur came the art historian, and, perhaps more important to the world of collecting, the new breed of the dealer, who developed from men such as Baldinucci and the various agents working for the Medici collections outside Florence. Recognition and admiration of Baldinucci as a conniosseur is shown in stories showing his infallibility of judgement concerning attributions;

To assure himself further of Filippo's ability to recognise the hands of different artists, the cardinal (Leopoldo) had two hundred drawings selected, these being of unquestioned authorship. The master's name was inscribed on the reverse of each one...and they were brought to Filippo's house by Lorenzo Gualtieri...Gualtieri set him the task of identifying them one by one, comparing his judgements with the inscribed names.³¹

In this example his judgements are even tested by Leopoldo as a sort of game, in which the tester or patron enjoys and recognises Baldinucci's talents as a conniosseur.

As has been said, Baldinucci formed his own collection of drawings, a large part of which survives in the Louvre. His collection evolved in a similar way to

³⁰ Notizie 1681, p.13 (trans. Goldberg (1988) p. 63)

³¹ Goldberg (1988) p.59

Vasari's Libro, growing with his research for the Notizie and Leopoldo's collection. Baldinucci was in contact with numerous artists of his time through these projects and through his own interests. The collection which was purchased by the Musée Napoleon, later the Louvre, in 1806 from the Strozzi family in Florence, took the form of four leather-bound volumes containing about twelve hundred drawings. They were organised in historical chronology, following Vasari's precedent and the order of the Notizie and Leopoldo's collection, and decorated, as Vasari's, with cartouches showing the artist's name and period or school, although, again as Vasari, with several mistaken attributions. The contents reveal something of Baldinucci's personality and connoisseurship; for the most part the collection is rich in fine examples of a high standard, most concentrated in the representation of Tuscan works, particularly of the second half of the sixteenth century.

Unhappily the volumes were disassembled on their acquisition in 1806, losing Baldinucci's historical order and organisation and several of his attributions; a result of the nineteenth century disrespect of Baldinucci as a connoisseur or historian and lack of interest in the volumes as historical documents. However, recent attempts have been made to reconstruct the collection on Baldinucci's lines³².

A Spaniard in Rome and Naples; The Marchese del Carpio and his Collections

The Prints and Drawings Department of the National Gallery of Scotland owns a small volume of drawings from the collection of the Marchese del Carpio³³. The Spanish Viceroy, known in Spanish as Don Gaspar de Haro y

³² Dessins Baroque Florentins du Musée du Louvre 1982, p. 6, and F. Viatte (1988) pp. 8-9.

³³ National Gallery of Scotland D 4890

Guzman, Marques del Carpio, was ambassador in Rome (1677-1682) and Naples (1682-1687). In Naples he was particularly famed for his reforms, affecting the administration, military, and even the cultural life of the nobility³⁴;

He disciplined the militia, repressed the bandits, reformed the finances. Haro tried even to reform the old nobility by raising their intellectual standards.

Such a man was likely to enjoy works of art himself, and, in his endeavors at reforming the nobility, to encourage literary activities and art collecting.³⁵

The Marchese's art collecting had begun much earlier while still in Spain; by 1651 he is recorded as having acquired the Spanish master Velasquez' "Rokeby Venus" (now in the National Gallery, London)³⁶. In Rome he made contact with various contemporary artists, and by the time of his transfer to Naples had amassed a considerable collection of antiquities, paintings - including a number by Velasquez - and drawings³⁷. In Naples he continued this collecting, assembling a total of thirty volumes of drawings by old masters and contemporaries³⁸. On del Carpio's death the collections were transferred to his heirs in Spain in countless shiploads over several years - which gives some indication of the huge size of the collection. Since then it has suffered a diverse fate, and for the most part become lost through time.

A volume of drawings in Madrid (Bibl.Nazionale) contains a number of seventeenth century Neapolitan drawings, including Preti, Rosa, Caracciola, Andrea di Leones, and Falcone³⁹. A similar volume was in the Janos Scholz

³⁴ Haskell (1963) pp.190-192

³⁵ F. Saxl (1939-40) p.76

³⁶ N. Maclaren (1970) Toilet of Venus/Rokeby Venus

³⁷ Haskell (1963) numbers the collection by the time of his departure from Rome as about 1100.

³⁸ *ibid* p.191

³⁹ Saxl (1939-40)

collection, since sold to an unknown buyer, and in the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, formerly the library of the Society of Antiquaries⁴⁰. The Edinburgh volume's provenance is loosely known; formerly owned by Paul and Eduardo Bosch in Madrid, it was sold in 1964 to the Gallery by the dealers H.M. Calmann⁴¹.

The volume is small, leather bound, and slightly stained, but otherwise in fairly good condition. It contains forty-nine drawings by a variety of artists from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Each drawing is individually mounted, sometimes in the case of smaller studies placed two or three to a page. Attributions are inscribed on each page, although should not be taken as secure; the title page was probably executed by a later collector. The drawings in the volume are a mixture of schools, predominantly Florentine and Roman, with a few North Italian, Venetian, Bolognese and Sienese examples. Most of the drawings were executed around 1600; a few are earlier sixteenth century, while fewer are later - only one contemporary artist is represented, Trevisiani.

It is not, however, really possible to form any conclusions about the nature of del Carpio's collection of drawings from one small volume out of a collection which numbered about thirty volumes. That this volume shows mostly Florentine and Roman drawings may well be intentional, as may the dating of the group. Unlike the collections of dal Pozzo and Baldinucci which have survived almost intact, although the volumes dismantled, allowing interpretation of their collecting policies and intentions, such interpretation of del Carpio's collecting remains for the most part hypothetical. The Edinburgh volume is on the other hand unusual as an

⁴⁰ c.f. note (H. M. Calmann) in the National Gallery of Scotland with volume D 4890.

⁴¹ *ibid* (also refers to a reference to the Edinburgh volume in 1897 by the dealer Murillo, who tried to sell it, unsuccessfully, to a certain Cardereras); c.f. also Andrews (1968)

intact volume, representing the type of mounting and storing which was typical for collections of drawings from the sixteenth century onwards.

Drawings and Classical Archeology: Cassiano dal Pozzo's Paper Museum, The "Museo Cartaceo"

Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657) was the instigator in the formation of a new sort of private collection with his Museo Cartaceo or "Paper Museum", established from about 1620 onwards. This constituted a comprehensive collection of drawings of all the remaining antique works of art in and around Rome (fig 11). Although a patron and collector of contemporary art, it was dal Pozzo's Museo Cartaceo which was to have the most long-lasting influence on subsequent collections and on the study of ancient history.

Cassiano was the eldest son of Antonio dal Pozzo, a civil servant in the Medici household. He was educated in Bologna and Pisa, where he came under the influence of his uncle, Carl Antonio dal Pozzo, Archbishop, diplomat, town-planner and patron of the arts and archeology. Cassiano then trained in law, but later abandoned his career to follow his interest in art and archeology. By 1609 he was in Rome, where he was employed as cupbearer to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, travelling with him to France and Spain in 1625 and 1626. In the 1630s Cassiano became prominent in the Accademia dei Lincei, the earliest academy devoted to scientific research of the natural world, of which Galileo was a member. In relation to his role in the Accademia, Cassiano took charge of amassing a collection of natural history drawings.

Thus from about 1613 until 1645 Cassiano was involved in collecting and commissioning drawings of both natural history and after antiquities⁴². For both projects combined, Cassiano employed around thirty contemporary artists, probably including Pietro Testa and his protege Poussin⁴³.

Cassiano was a collector of art, including paintings, drawings, pastels, antiquities and so on, as well as the Museo Cartaceo. An exhibition of his collections took place in 1715 towards its dispersal, in which all such works are listed⁴⁴. Further evidence reveals his interest and patronage of contemporary artists - although not apparent in the 1715 exhibition - such as Poussin, Vouet, Testa, Duquesnoy, Bernini and the Venetians⁴⁵.

At the turn of the sixteenth century the natural philosopher, teacher and scholar of natural history in Bologna, Ulisse Aldrovani, formed a similar collection of drawings by contemporary artists as illustrations to his researches. In his investigations of the natural world he employed artists to make drawings as records of his scientific research, emphasising the importance of observation, dissection and clarity of description. The type of drawings he commissioned were thus, as those dal Pozzo demanded, of a high standard of accuracy and exact reproduction. Little or no value was attached to less functional art; the drawings were primarily intended for instruction. In emphasising this he was instrumental in raising the qualities of the illustration as an aid to study, possibly also having some influence on the Bolognese school of painting and its value of natural observation and study

⁴² c.f. E Cropper (1988) intro Cropper and Chapter F. Solinas and A. Nicolo.

⁴³ c.f. Cropper (1988); Baldinucci also relates Cassiano's patronage of Testa, (*Notizie*); Bellori relates his patronage of Poussin (*Lives*) (which included the painting series of the *Seven Sacraments*, now in the National Gallery of Scotland) - the difference in emphasis revealing the biographers/historians allegiances of patriotism rather than unbiased relation of facts.

⁴⁴ Haskell/Rinehart (1960) p.319

⁴⁵ *ibid*

of the external world, through his contacts and patronage of contemporary artists, some of whom even used his drawings for their own study purposes⁴⁶.

Dal Pozzo's first drawing collection was as Aldrovani's, of natural history; he then moved on to collect drawings after the antiquities of Rome. The same artists as listed above were involved in the "Paper Museum", although attributions remain speculative as the drawings are anonymous and of a fairly uniform style. The collection included works by former artists from the quattrocento and seicento, as well as employing contemporary painters and engravers.

I have spared no expense in gathering information, having had copies made over many years by young artists skilled in drawing and continuing up to the present to have drawn everything good (the most noteworthy antiquities) that I have observed in marble and metal that could provide some important information about antiquity. This "Paper Museum" as I will call it, is divided into many volumes...⁴⁷

The organisation of the Museo was on the same lines as the former collection of natural history drawings, attempting to be a comprehensive record of every antique statue, bust, carving, mosaic, and so on, right down to the last urn, in the area of Rome. The drawings themselves necessarily had to be clear and precise; here was no room for free artistic interpretations of antique subjects. Consequently each artist involved was expected to produce drawings of a high standard and scientific exactitude. We seem to have moved a long way from Alberti's early quattrocento recommendation to study from the antique;

...from sculptures we learn to represent both likeness and the

⁴⁶ c.f. A. W. A. Boschloo (1974) pp.113-116

⁴⁷ Cropper (1988) p.lxix/letter 1654 from Cassiano

correct incidence of light...⁴⁸

But Cassiano's purpose and use of the drawings from the antique is of course entirely different from Alberti's, who is recommending study of antique sculpture as a method of learning the technique of drawing and a way of seeing, most especially of seeing the human figure.

However, Cassiano has taken these theories and the practice of drawing after the antique to a different level. It was through recognition of the value of the artist's sketchbook that he was able to put it to the use of the classical archeologist, employing drawings as a means of forming a comprehensive record of the natural - for his natural history drawings collection - or ancient, worlds - for the Museo Cartaceo. The methodological and scientific approach in the formation of such a collection is moreover innovatory; the collection became a point of reference in Cassiano's own time and later, until its 'rediscovery' in the nineteenth century by German scholars.

Following Cassiano's death, the Museo passed to his brother, Carl Antonio, who continued to add to the collection, then to Carl Antonio's son and grandson. His grandson Cosimo Antonio sold the entire collection to Pope Clement XI in about 1703, at a cost of 4000 or 4500 scudi, from whom it was gifted to his nephew, the Cardinal Alessandro Albani⁴⁹. Albani sold his drawing collection in its entirety to George III of England in 1762, through the intermediary work of James Adam. The Museo Cartaceo consequently survives still in the Royal Collection at Windsor, with some escaped volumes and sheets scattered around British collections, for example the Soame Museum, London, and in the British Museum, Franks Collection. The so-called Franks Collection volumes in the

⁴⁸ Alberti/Grayson p.101 para 58

⁴⁹ J. Fleming (1958) pp.164-169; see also below

British Museum are in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, thus showing their role as documents of antique art probably of more interest to the classical historian than to the art historian⁵⁰.

Cardinal Alessandro Albani's Collection; An Eighteenth Century Collection in Rome

The nephew of Pope Clement XI, Cardinal Albani became heir to Clement's collection of drawings on his death in 1721, although he had already been gifted the dal Pozzo collection in 1714⁵¹. The collection he gained in 1721 also contained the collections of the artist Carlo Maratta; both collections subsequently found their way to the Royal Collection at Windsor, following Albani's rather begrudging sale of his drawings collection to King George III in 1762⁵².

Albani was one of the great collectors in Rome in the mid-eighteenth century. His collection included antiquities, paintings and a library, which housed his vast collection of drawings, contained in both his town house and villa, where they were visited by Grand Tour travellers. The famous art historian and classicist J. J. Wincklemann (1717-1768) was a curator of the collections, for whom the dal Pozzo collection, including the Museo Cartaceo, must have been of great interest⁵³.

Probably of less interest to the eighteenth century connoisseur was the collection formed by Carlo Maratta. This included works from the studio of Domenichino, which in turn included drawings from the Carracci⁵⁴. Domenichino left his collection to his pupil Francesco Raspantino, who sold it to Maratta, from

⁵⁰ Haskell/Rinehart (1960) p.18ff

⁵¹ Fleming (1958)

⁵² *ibid* (and surviving letters of James Adam)

⁵³ Wincklemann was a German scholar, art historian and classicist working in Rome, where he was a major instigator of the neo-classical movement with his writings on art and classical antiquity.

⁵⁴ see above

whom it was acquired in 1703 by Clement III, thus reaching the Albani collection. The collection numbered in total about two hundred volumes containing both prints and drawings⁵⁵. As well as the drawings from the dal Pozzo and Maratta collections, it included fourteen volumes of designs by Carlo Fontana of projects commissioned by the Albani family, forming a record of the family's precedence in the world of artistic patronage, of which the drawing collection was just one small part - and in these designs assuming a self-reflective purpose, reflecting and recording the Albani family's preeminence⁵⁶.

Documentary evidence referring to the sale of the Albani collection to George III has survived in the form of letters written by James Adam, who transacted the sale⁵⁷. Adam refers to the fame and high quality of the collection, about which the connoisseurs of Rome

...all...were perfectly of the same sentiments with respect to its being the finest in Rome and that it was next to impossible ever to make such another.⁵⁸

although Adam admits not all of it is of such high quality

In such a vast collection much rubbish must be expected.⁵⁹

Albani seemed rather reluctant to part with the collection and no reference is made by Adam to Wincklemann, who would not, one assumes, have been happy to see its dispersal, especially the dal Pozzo drawings, but eventually Adam was successful, and the Royal Collection at Windsor can still today boast a great

⁵⁵ Fleming (1958)

⁵⁶ J. Roberts (1986) p.12

⁵⁷ Fleming (1958)

⁵⁸ *ibid* p.167/letter May 8, 1762

⁵⁹ *ibid*

acquisition⁶⁰. The entire collection was sold for 3 500 guineas, Albani insistent on only selling it intact, although how as a result sheets subsequently became separated remains a mystery⁶¹.

A Further Collection in Venice; Zaccaria Sagredo

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Venice became a centre of collecting, producing collectors and dealers who were eventually to lead to the exchange of collections from Italy to the countries of Northern Europe and across to Britain. While the aristocratic or idiosyncratic patron continued to collect, collections of drawings at this time also reveal the development of the new breed of the dealer.

Zaccaria Sagredo (1651-1729) was famed as one of the few collectors in Venice, and claimed by foreign visitors to the city to be the only collector at the turn of the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries with a considerable collection of a high quality⁶². Of noble Venetian descent, his collections were large, purchased from previous owners or directly commissioned from contemporary artists, encompassing paintings, drawings, sculpture, armour and books; a typical collection of the nobility.

Sagredo's drawing collection included works from the Bonfiglione collection of Carracci drawings⁶³, as well a wide variety of drawings from

⁶⁰ Adam claims that Albani's mistress, "la Cheroffini", was important in persuading Albani to relinquish the collection, desiring the money for her daughter's dowry. (Fleming 1958)

⁶¹ "...his Excellency will by no means divide his collection but will sell all or none..." (J. Adam, Fleming 1958); on the dispersal of the collection c.f. Cropper (1988) and Haskell/Rinehart (1960)

⁶² Haskell (1963) pp.263-267; ref John Breval (1723/pub 1738) to Sagredo.

⁶³ O. Kurtz (1955) refers to the most outstanding collector in a family of collectors, Silvestro Bonfiglione (1637-96), whose collections were inventoried in 1696 including the drawings on display but unfortunately not those not on display. His

different masters from Northern Europe and from Italy. The collection thus included Venetian drawings, by Canaletto, Tiepolo and so on, northern Italian, such as Castiglione, as well as Northern European, Flemish and German old masters. He was also a great collector of prints, which John Breval claimed was his single redeeming virtue⁶⁴. The reputation and prestige of Sagredo's collection was however questionable. Inventories were made of it after Sagredo's death, in 1743 and 1762⁶⁵. The collection was left to Sagredo's nephews and subsequently sold and dispersed: some purchased by Joseph Smith, the British Consul, eventually making its way to the Royal Collection at Windsor⁶⁶.

Bolognese schools (especially the Carracci). The collections passed on to his nephews and was sold in 1728 to Sagredo.

⁶⁴ *ibid* p.266 (he was)"reckoned to have the largest Collection of Prints of any man in Europe...This is the only Branch of Virtue that Gentleman is famous for"

⁶⁵ Haskell (1963)

⁶⁶ see below

CHAPTER 2: Crossing the Channel, the First British Collections of Drawings

The influx and influence of Italian art on British art collecting was a direct result of the fashion for travelling on the continent and interest in classical archeology. Besides the gentleman tourists, the continent abounded with dealers and agents, encouraging and answering the market demands of the rapidly developing art market and collectors of Britain. Consequently, with the evolution of the private art collection - the type of collection still known today - the collecting of drawings similarly developed, following the pattern established in Italy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The earliest recorded large collection of drawings in Britain, built on a scale after Italian prototypes, was that of the continental traveller Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel, in the early seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, as the art market developed and the collector became more sophisticated, the collecting of drawings increased, assuming an almost indispensable role in an art collection. The collector who included drawings in his collecting was however of a different type from the usual art collector, and by the eighteenth century, influenced again by the example of the Italians, the connoisseur or drawing specialist appeared in Britain. The first British connoisseur of drawings was Jonathon Richardson, artist, advisor, a prolific collector of drawings and a writer on art, at that time a new phenomenon. Such figures became arbiters of the prevalent taste of collectors and scholars, and reflected the recognition of drawings' importance as works of art and their value as collectable items.

By the seventeenth century the religious tensions of Europe had been stabilised and the Continent became a safer place for the English Protestant to travel in. The earliest travellers abroad were diplomats and ambassadors, but gradually travel on the continent became an established part of the education of the English

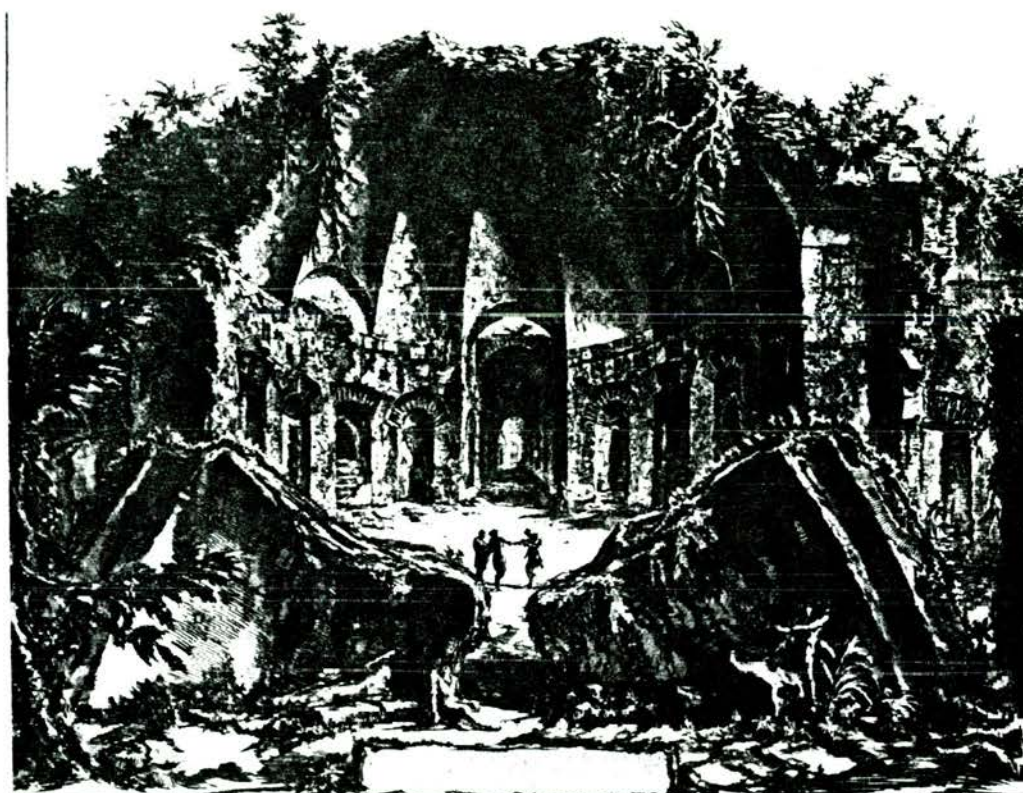


Fig 9: Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778)
Hadrian's Villa, the Canopus c1769
Etching Vedute di Roma

gentleman. By the later seventeenth century, and certainly by the eighteenth, the Grand Tour had been named and the great cities of Europe were frequented by young English men accompanied by their tutors or artistic advisors¹.

...travel and study on the continent, not only as training for diplomats, public servants and soldiers, but also as an ideal means of imparting taste, knowledge, self-assurance and polished manners to young gentlemen of fortune, had already become accepted as an invaluable alternative, or supplement, to a university education... ²

The travellers of the Grand Tour were to have a profound influence on the nature of collecting in England, bringing home souvenirs in the form of works of art by old masters and contemporary artists and antiquities. They patronised and supported local artists, having their portraits painted in Rome by Maratta or Carlo Dolci, or drawn in Venice in pastels by Rosalba Carriera. They studied antique remains guided by experts such as Wincklemann, the most favoured guide round the ruins of ancient Rome, while purchasing prints by, for example, Piranesi, which romanticised the same ruins in dramatic views of Rome (fig 10)³. A further stimulus to the Grand Tourist was the discovery of the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum mid-eighteenth century, from which both physical objects and ideas of taste were gleaned by the enthusiastic traveller.

Therefore by the eighteenth century the collecting of Italian and classical works of art - paintings, drawings, prints and sculpture - had become a common pastime of the British nobility, and the fashion was established for a style of architecture and decoration influenced by Italian styles, classical and modern, in the

¹ Richard Lassell in his Voyage of Italy (1670) makes the earliest reference to the Grand Tour naming it as such.

² O. Hibbert (1987) p.18

³ the series Vedute di Roma, published 1745

explosion of great country houses throughout Britain. The theoretic and literary basis of Italian art, established in the Renaissance and reiterated in Italian and subsequent writing on art, further served to emphasise and continue the desirability of Italian works of art as collectables.

In answer to the demands of the English nobility, the art dealer evolved in the eighteenth century into a powerful figure, playing an important role in the art world. Subject to the taste for continental, namely Italian, art, agents and dealers working abroad were of the utmost importance in the formation of many collections and the movement of works of art across the continent and the channel. In addition to the invasion of tourists and dealers, Italy was invaded by the French armies in the late eighteenth century, furthering the break up of collections and trafficking of works of art;

Flocks of agents, dealers, unsuccessful artists, and adventurers of all kinds descended like vultures on Italy to take their pickings of the resident nobility, who were obliged to pay the swinging fines imposed by the invading French armies...King George III noticed what was happening and commented sarcastically that all his noblemen were now picture dealers.⁴

Meanwhile in Britain the sale-room increased in use and reputation through the eighteenth century, responding to the expanding number of works of art crossing the channel from the continent, and the increase in the number of works on the market as collectors or heirs to collections died or fell on hard times and their collections were dispersed. The art market in Britain had rapidly developed following its legalisation in the 1680s, opening up new possibilities and revenue both for the dealer at home and the agent abroad. Successful auctions, such as the sale of the Lely collection in the 1680s, had long-lasting ramifications for the

⁴ Haskell (1975) p.26

subsequent success of the British art market and the development of London as a centre of commerce furthered the flow of cash and art.

As art collecting developed and expanded into the eighteenth century, ideas were formed as to the relevance of the collection to society and the individual collector. In his poem On the Use of Riches, Alexander Pope (1688-1744) criticised the fashion for collecting, which was often taken to extremes with vast sums of money spent on lavish collections by ignorant collectors of little understanding of art or culture. Pope thus draws a picture of the wealthy purchaser intent on keeping up with fashion and buying works of art through artistic advisors;

Artists must choose his pictures, music, meats:
He buys for Topham drawings and designs,
For Pembroke statues, dirty gods, and coins;
Rare monkish manuscripts for Hearne alone,
And books for Mead, and butterflies for Sloane...

What brought Sir Visto's ill-got wealth to waste?
Some demon whisper'd, "Visto! Have a taste,"
Heaven visits with a taste the wealthy fool...⁵

The reference to the custom of the artist-advisor, a sort of arbiter of taste recommended by Jonathon Richardson⁶, reflects the use of such advisors, often themselves artists, but increasingly connoisseurs.

It is moreover interesting to note that Pope included the collector of drawings under his fire of criticism, revealing drawings to be common collectors

⁵ Alexander Pope Collected Poems (1983)

⁶ Richardson (1719) "There are two ways whereby a Gentleman may come to be persuaded of the Goodness of a Picture, or Drawing; he neither have Leisure, or Inclination to become a Connoisseur himself, and yet may delight in these things, and desire to have them; He has no way then but to take up his Options upon Trust, and Implicitly depend upon Another's Judgement...And this may be the Wisest and Best Course all things considered..."

items. The second of the great Lely sales of the late seventeenth century was the sale of his drawing collection, the success of which revealed an increased interest in drawings as collectables and encouraged further sales of drawings. The organiser of the auction referred to its success,

It was wonderful to see with what earnestness people attended the sale. One would have thought bread was exposed in a famine. Those that bought laid down their guineas. I made the same profession here as at the former sale, that it should be perfectly candid, without addition, subtraction or false bidding...⁷

This interest in drawings was apparent by the eighteenth century when the reigning monarch, George III (1738-1820), became the first monarch to form a great collection of drawings. His collection formed a large part of the collection still belonging to the Royal family and housed at Windsor Castle, and included the acquisition of two major collections of Italian art in 1762, the Albani and Smith collections⁸.

It was in the eighteenth century that the systematic collection developed, in comparison to earlier collections or the "cabinets of curiosities" of the seventeenth century, and based on a qualitative judgement and taste in art, like that upheld by Pope. A collection became less representative of the collector's wealth and more a representation of his taste. Thus, with a similar increase in the appreciation and collecting of prints, drawings were collected and admired for their qualities as works of art. At the same time the art collection had become a private affair between the collector and his collections - in contrast to earlier collections, such as

⁷ D. Sutton (1981) p.301 ref R. North, executor of Lely's will and organiser of the sale.

⁸ see above - Cardinal Albani's collection; and below - Consul Smith's collection

the great art collection of Charles I, always on public view⁹ - and consequently drawings, like books or gems, were collected as less ostentatious objects for the private enjoyment of the collector.

And as the more systematic and qualitatively formed collection developed, the collector became a specialist or connaisseur instead of the seventeenth century "virtuoso" collector, or jack of all trades. In Britain probably the first connoisseurs of drawings were the Richardsons, father and son; Jonathon Richardson the elder was also the first English art theorist, publishing his Essay on the Theory of Painting in 1725, throughout which the importance of the art of drawing is emphasised while he constantly refers to his own collection of drawings.

Richardson's Essay filled the gap in English literature in writing on art; British literature in general tended to be journalistic or satirical, literary styles which had led more naturally to the evolution of the English novel than to art theory. British art scholarship was however inevitably influenced by the developments in art collecting and writing on art in Europe; Italian art theory and French connoisseurship were to have profound, if not immediately apparent, effects on the developments of art collecting and on the genesis of the drawing collection in Britain.

The Connoisseur and Dealer as a Collector of Drawings

The connoisseur emerged from his beginnings with Vasari and Baldinucci to assume a specialised role in art dealing and collecting. As the specialist in

⁹ Charles I's collection was the first great collection formed in Britain, and included a great number of Italian works of art - such as the Gonzaga collection from Mantua - it was however broken up and dispersed in the Civil War and Charles' execution, much of it scattered across Europe in one of the greatest sales of the art world. The collection moreover included some drawings; c.f. G. Waagen (1854) pp.17/27

drawings evolved, artist-connosseurs continued Vasari's precedence and the tradition of the artist as collector and connosseur, such as Antonio Maria Zanetti (the elder, 1679-1767), a Venetian collector of drawings and prints which he copied in his engravings, and Benedetto Luti (1666-1724), an artist more devoted to his collecting than to practising his art, according to his eighteenth century biographer Bottari¹⁰. However the connosseur of drawings continued to develop beyond artists and outside Italy, appearing by the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries in specialists who collected, researched and wrote about drawings, such as Pierre Crozat and J.-P. Mariette in France, and the Richardson's, father and son, in England.

A Milanese settled in Rome from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635-1714) amassed a considerable collection of drawings which illustrated a rough chronological progression of past to contemporary masters. These drawings were mounted and annotated by Resta in writing on the mounts and on the drawings themselves. His notes were preserved by the Richardsons, who copied Resta's annotations on the drawings purchased by Lord Somers in 1716¹¹, the largest number of which survive in Christ Church, Oxford and formerly the Chatsworth collection¹². The Richardsons remounted most of the drawings, except one volume, and transferred Resta's notes to the new mounts. In these annotations Resta recorded the artist and the painted work the drawing might relate to, and added his own comments; his scholarship was to have a profound influence on the Richardsons and to contribute to the evolution of the connosseur in Britain.

¹⁰ B. Heinzl (1966) refers to Bottari's (1759) description of Luti's collection. See also below, Kent's purchase of the collection, 'The Dealer Connosseur'

¹¹ see below The Richardsons

¹² also in the Louvre, British Museum, Koenigs Collection and in Stockholm and Chicago - recognisable through the Resta-Somers mark.

The fullest record of Resta's collection survives in a letter written by the English dealer John Talman to Dean Aldrich of Christ Church, Oxford, from Florence of 1709 or 1710, in an attempt to induce him to purchase the collection he had just "discovered" in Arezzo belonging to Giovanni Matteo Marchetti, Bishop of Arezzo¹³. In this letter Talman lists the sixteen volumes of the former Resta collection and loosely describes their contents: over half - nine volumes - are sixteenth and seventeenth century works, while the other volumes are a mixture of earlier works, drawings after antique mosaics and two volumes of "curious drawings" by a variety of masters. Resta had a predilection for smaller works and a habit of cutting single figures from sheets and remounting them, sometimes even separating parts of the same sheet into different volumes, showing, as Vasari's decorative mounts, a desire for visual effect rather than categorical accuracy. The contents and organisation of the volumes however attempted a systematic method of illustrating the historical development of art. Originally from Milan, Resta emphasised the development of art outside Tuscany, countering Vasari's eulogy of Tuscan art; thus his collection was rich in Roman, Umbrian, and north Italian drawings.

Talman's letter also refers to Resta's connoisseurship and the fame of the collection;

...It consisteth of sixteen volumes, folio (fourteen inches broad, and twenty inches high) gilt and bound in red Turkey leather. They were first collected by the famous Father Resta, a Milanese, of the oratory of Filippo Neri at Rome; a person so well known in Rome, and all over Italy, for his skill in drawings, that it would be needless to say any more of him than that the collections were made by him, and that through the whole work, he has an abundance of observations (gathered by the application and experience of fifty years), no where else to

¹³ discussed and partly reproduced in A. E. Popham (1936-7) p.1-20

be seen; every book is filled with Notes on each drawing, with several collections of those who have wrote the Lives of Painters. The design of this work is to show the rise and fall of painting in divers periods of time. ¹⁴

In reading this as a historical document it has to be remembered that Talman was trying to sell the collection to the recipient of the letter, thus his praise of it and of Resta may be rather overblown. By modern standards Resta's conniosseurship was lacking historical or factual accuracy; even according to a nineteenth century critic his attributions consisted of "baptising drawings with illustrious names"¹⁵. Resta was often over-ambitious in attributing works to great masters; subsequent research has found few drawings with the Resta-Somer's mark that are genuine Correggios, Raphaels, Carraccis or other masters as claimed by Resta, with the exception of the one major Leonardo cartoon, now in the National Gallery, London, of the Virgin and Child and St. Anne. In 1707 Resta published, with a later supplement, his L'Indice del Parnasso de' Pittori revealing a type of scholarship which was similar to Baldinucci's, by whom he must have been influenced. Attributions at that time were made through loose evidence, for example if a drawing related to a painting, and the scholar was frequently dogged by local patriotism - as in the case of Resta's anti-Vasari emphasis of art outside Tuscany - or equally Baldinucci's Tuscan patriotism in support of Vasari.

It was the business of the conniosseur to give the drawing before him a definate name; he did not realise how inadequate was his knowledge for doing this in the case of drawings of the quattrocento. Resta, who knew Baldinucci's writings well, is as uncritical and as arbitrary in his attributions as the Florentine historian.¹⁶

¹⁴ ibid p.4; J. Talman letter 1709/10, published 1758, 1770 and 1859.

¹⁵ ibid p.13, ref. Campari (1866)

¹⁶ ibid p.13

Talman's subsequently offered the collection to the Duke of Devonshire and rumour has it that the King of Prussia was also interested. Four volumes were finally sold to a Dr Newton, the British Envoy in Florence, and the rest to Lord Somers in England in 1716 at a price of 600 pounds. Lord Somers died later the same year and the collection again came onto the market. Several volumes - over 100 lots - were recorded as purchased by Pierre Crozat, the conniosseur in Paris, through his agent in London N. Dorigny and by the English conniosseur Richardson¹⁷.

Pierre Crozat (1665-1740), the purchaser of a large section of the Rest-Somers collection, was an influential collector, conniosseur and agent in Paris at the turn of the seventeenth century. A banker with a successful family banking business he was made Tresorier de France in 1704, a position he retained for the rest of his life. His business interests took him abroad from early in his career - in 1683 he went to Italy - where he began his speculations on the art market, both for his own collections and as an agent for, for example, the Regent, Philippe, Duc d'Orleans. Crozat modelled his collecting on Italian Renaissance prototypes such as Lorenzo de Medici, and his enthusiasm for Italian art is most apparent in his writings on art, the two volumes of his Receuil d'Estampes d'apres les Tableaux et les Dessins du Cabinet du Roi, de celui du duc d'Orleans et d'autres Cabinets in which he attempted to make the Italian schools more widely known. His own collections included a large number of drawings; an early aquisition was Malvasia's collection - the art historian and biographer in Bologna - which included over two hundred studies by the Carracci for the Galleria Farnese. The importance given by Crozat to his drawings as a distinct part of his art collections is shown in his housing them in a purpose-built octagonal cabinet, adjoining the gallery of his Paris house where most of his collections were kept.

¹⁷ B. Scott (1973) p.17; see also below and on Richardson

Crozat's house became well known as a meeting place for contemporary artists, French and Italian - amongst whom his particular protege was Watteau - and for connosseurs, art enthusiasts and amateurs. The drawings were used by both artists and connosseurs for study purposes, further extending their fame and the reputation of his house as a sort of academy, like the Florentine and Carracci academies where the study of drawing was integral to learning. This was later reinforced by the connosseur Mariette, one of Crozat's most important pupils, who emphasised the importance of the study of an artist's drawings in comprehending his style and work¹⁸. Drawing was thus for the Crozat and Mariette school of thought the essential base of the study of art and its history.

The high quality of Crozat's collection was recorded by the catalogues written by Mariette at the sale of the collection in 1741 after Crozat's death in 1740. A huge total of almost nineteen thousand drawings was recorded, much of an exceptionally high standard. Crozat was a discerning collector, his taste unusually catholic and covering a broad spectrum of styles and schools, some not yet recognised by his contemporaries. As well as the Resta-Somers collection, he had acquired a large portion of the collection formed by Everhard Jabach, the German banker settled in Paris in the first half of the seventeenth century. This contained Flemish and German drawings, including over a hundred by Durer and over two hundred by Poussin, as well as a great number of Italian drawings, recognised by Jabach as the most important part of his collection¹⁹. Jabach's first collection was sold to Louis XIV in 1671 when he came into financial difficulties, and is today part of the Louvre collection; it was later ironically joined by Mariette's collection,

¹⁸ see below

¹⁹ Italian Renaissance Drawings from the Musee du Louvre, Paris (ex. cat. 1975) intro R. Bacou" The manuscript inventory drawn up at the time of the sale lists the drawings that Jabach considered the most precious in his collection: of 2 631 items thus inventoried, 2 258 were Italian drawings of the Renaissance and of the first half of the seventeenth century."

purchased in 1775 by Louis XV, which included some of Crozat's collection, thus the second collection formed by Jabach.

A collection of such a high standard and large size, like Crozat's, was inevitably to have a lasting influence on the connoisseurship of French collectors. And more importantly the type of scholarship it represented was to have a direct and profound influence on P.-J. Mariette, Crozat's mental and temporal follower.

Mariette (1694-1774) travelled to Italy in 1717 on a Grand Tour and subsequently became part of the group of scholars led by Crozat in Paris, with which education he became an expert on Italian art. His catalogue of Crozat's collection in 1741 marked the beginning of a life-long obsession with the study and collection of drawings. The Abecedario Pittorico (published posthumously) attempted to realise a vast encyclopaedic dictionary of artists, containing their biographies and lists of their works²⁰. The type of research in both the Crozat catalogues and the Abecedario moreover marked a development in the nature of art historical writing. The Crozat catalogue was the first of its kind, emphasising, as Crozat's own choices in forming his collection, the quality of the drawings. Furthermore Mariette stressed the importance of the attributions and provenances of the drawings as he catalogued them, revealing a new interest in the work's value as shown in the veracity of its collecting history, previously not of more than passing significance to the collector.

Mariette therefore established a new type of connoisseurship, more akin to twentieth century scholarship and valuation of drawings. He criticised Baldinucci and other earlier collectors and so called "connoisseurs" for their lack of

²⁰ The Abecedario remained unfinished in six volumes on Mariette's death; despite this it has been an invaluable source of information to scholars and historians from the nineteenth century onwards.

conniossuership, refering for example to the collection of Francesco Maria Niccolo Gabburi (1645-1742), for sale on the London art market in about 1760²¹, in a rather deprecatory tone;

...sa collection fut trouvee a sa mort plus nombreux que belle...
(on his death his collection was found to be greater in number
than beauty)²²

In this Mariette emphasises the respected Florentine virtuoso's - who was President of the Academie del Disegno and well known in art circles, corresponding with the cognoscenti of Europe of his day - lack of judgement and method of collecting quantitatively rather than qualitatively.

Mariette became famous as a conniosseur, assisting with sales and visiting the Cabinets of amateur collectors throughout Europe. He also formed his own collection, including some of Crozat's collection, and totalling by his death about three and a half thousand drawings; arranged, labelled and ordered in 100 folios, and mounted on a distinctive blue mount edged with gold and black lines - similar to the Richardsons' method of mounting drawings at about the same time in England. The collection was sold on his death to the king of France, Louis XV, and today forms part of the Louvre Cabinet des Dessins.

Mariette's scholarship was to have a profound influence on the collections and research of drawings from the eighteenth century onwards. In England the Richardsons' research into drawings and writing on art can be seen paralleling Mariette's in France. Moreover Mariette's emphasis of drawing as integral to the study and practice of art reinforced the Italian Renaissance tenets of the importance

²¹ on William Kent see below

²² Abecedario Vol II p.275 Conniosseur (1958) p.227ff

of disegno upheld since the sixteenth century, and enforced in the scholarship and academies of eighteenth century England and France;

Je crois neanmoins pouvoir dire que comme le dessin est ce qui donne la forme aux choses representees, on ne peut faire aucun lorsqu'on ignore la partie du dessin. Au contraire, par le moyen du seul dessin, il est facile de l'exprimer, aux yeux des spectateurs, de maniere a etre compris. Un seul trait de plume ou de charbon fait reconnaitre le chose qu'on veut rendre.

(I think I may say that as drawing is what gives form to things represented, so no proper use can be made of the different elements of painting if drawing is in any way neglected. On the contrary, drawing is enough to express things readily, so that they may be understood by the spectator. Whatever one wishes to represent may be made recognisable by a single stroke of the pen or charcoal.)²³

Meanwhile by the eighteenth century another sort of connoisseur, the dealer, was an established figure in the art world and the world of collecting. Probably the earliest dealer in Italy was Giovanni Battista della Palla, a Florentine banished to France on the Medici return to power at the beginning of the sixteenth century, returning to Florence in 1527 with the Medici expulsion to purchase and commission works of art for Francois I of France²⁴. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this type of dealer developed as the demand for antiquities and old masters grew and the market expanded outside Italy to the north of Europe and to Britain²⁵.

²³ Mariette letter to Gaetana Moniglia, May 25, 1733; Le Cabinet du'un Grand Amateur (1967) p.19

²⁴ ref Wackernagel, J. Alsop (1982) Ch.8

²⁵ with for example Vasari establishing the historical progression of art in the Renaissance and the recognition the old masters of antiquity, to the collecting of antiquities and developing collecting of old masters; Alsop (1982) p.411 "Art collecting automatically starts where the rare art traditions 'remembered masters' begin to have the standing of old masters" see also below, art collecting in Britain.

Many dealers also formed their own collections. One example of a wealthy Venetian dealer-connaisseur is Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764), who inherited a collection and added to it himself as he made purchases for the Dresden gallery of Augustus of Saxony, his collection growing in a haphazard way similar to Baldinucci's as he built up Leopoldo Medici's collection. Algarotti's collection included about two hundred drawings and a large number of paintings. Also in Venice the dealer Giuseppe Maria Sasso (c1740-1802) established his collection, including drawings by contemporary artists, particularly Venetians. And at the same time dealers from Britain such as the Adam brothers were acquiring works of art and antiquities to be sold to the great houses and collectors of Britain, while amassing their own private collections of drawings.

An early English connaisseur in Venice was Joseph Smith (c1675-1770), who had settled there as a diplomat around 1700, and was British Consul from 1744 to 1760. He formed a large art collection including various media - manuscripts, gems, paintings and drawings - in which he was influenced by contemporary Italian collections. He was furthermore a keen supporter of contemporary Venetian artists, patronising in particular Canaletto. His drawing collection was large and included a great number of Venetian works: in 1762 he sold it to George III - at the same time as the King's purchase of the Albani collection - thus it still survives in the Royal Collection at Windsor²⁶.

Dealers and agents from Britain travelling and purchasing in Italy wielded a great influence on collectors at home and nourished the taste in Britain for Italian art of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of these were themselves artists, working on the continent as advisors to British travellers and collectors or to enhance their own artistic learning.

²⁶ see above, the Albani Collection

Gavin Hamilton was a painter turned excavator, dealing mostly in antiquities although also paintings, engravings and drawings. His taste was eclectic, echoing the dual appreciation in the earlier eighteenth century of both classical styles and the flamboyant Baroque and Rococo styles - a dichotomy revealed in the art of, for example, Piranesi, with his extravagant images based on classical designs and architecture (fig 11 above). Hamilton moreover was a friend of Piranesi and Robert Adam, and a painter of neo-classical images.

William Kent the artist and architect also travelled to Italy and resided there for a time, studying under the artist Benedetto Luti (1666-1724) during the 1710s and again in the 1730s. It has subsequently been assumed that he was the "Mr Kent" referred to by Richard Dalton as the purchaser of the collections of drawings formed by Luti and the Florentine, Gabburi²⁷;

Another collection and very large in point of Quantity was purchased by a Mr Kent who having married an elderman's daughter with a large fortune has taken it in his head to turn dealer in both Prints and Drawings, and in my humble opinion he has not the least genius in that way and will pay for his learning in the end...²⁸

It has been shown however that the person referred to by Dalton was a second Kent, an art dealer in Italy at about the same time as William Kent the artist; he died in 1748 and evidence points to the Luti and Gabburi sales as after this date. This Kent was, according to Dalton, not a highly discriminating dealer, attracted more to the size of a collection than to its quality - a criticism echoed by Mariette's criticism of Gabburi's collection. But the very fact of Dalton's reference to Kent's lack of

²⁷ on Gabburi see above, Mariette and his comment on Gabburi's collection, probably made on the appearance of the collection on the art market around 1758.

²⁸ R. Dalton letter Dec 23 1758, in Fleming (1958) p.22?

conniosseurship or proper knowledge marks a stage in the changing attitudes to collecting and dealing and the evolving idea of the conniosseur in Britain.

On the other hand the collection formed by Luti and also purchased by Kent the dealer was renowned for its high quality. Luti's fame lay with his conniosseurship and collections as well as his work as an artist - in fact, according to Bottari, describing the collection later in the eighteenth century, he spent most of his time collecting. He amassed a total of about fourteen and a half thousand drawings, which were ordered in fourteen folios chronologically from earlier Medieval manuscripts to contemporary works²⁹. Mariette refers to the collection in glowing terms of praise, praise which is even more telling when compared to his reference to Gabburi's collection and in the light of his undoubted conniosseurship³⁰. An eighteenth century biographer of Luti, Pascoli, furthermore refers to the quality of the collection and to Luti's conniosseurship, relating that the collection was a must for the foreign visitor, the Grand Tourist, for whom it was an accepted pastime and educational occupation to visit renowned collections³¹.

The Luti and Gabburi collections were sold in London in 1760; some acquired by George III for his collection, the rest dispersed and for the most part lost track of. Catalogues for the sale of 1760 listed only the artist and the number of his works, thus proving it almost impossible to trace individual works.

²⁹ Heinzl (1966), ref Bottari (1759)

³⁰ *ibid* p.17 "...une tres-belle collection d'estampes et de dessins des grands maitres qu'il se faisoit un plaisir de faire voir aux conniosseurs..." (a very beautiful collection of drawings by the great masters which it was a pleasure for conniosseurs to see)

³¹ *ibid* p.17 "He (Luti) loved prints, drawings, figures and bas-reliefs and by his supreme understanding was enabled to put together such a rich and unique collection that no knowledgeable foreigner arriving in Rome omitted to go to see it..." ref Pascoli *Vite* of Luti (1730).

John Talman, mentioned above in connection with the Resta collection, was another artist turned dealer, as was Gavin Hamilton, travelling in Italy at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In fact he accompanied the young William Kent - the architect - on his Grand tour in 1709³². As well as purchasing works of art for sale at home, Talman formed his own collection of drawings after works of art in Italy and by old masters, creating for his own research a record of art in Italy, both past and present. On his death his collection was auctioned, including volumes and individual sheets marked with his motif of three entwined Ts. The Adam brothers, Robert and James, worked in a similar way as Talman and Hamilton, making purchases in Italy of paintings, drawings, prints and antiquities and selling them in Britain³³.

The Collector of Drawings in England; Artists and Aristocrats

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey (1585-1646) was one of the earliest English noblemen to go on a Grand Tour of Europe. His father had also earlier travelled Europe, persecuted by the English monarchy into a brief exile for his Catholic faith and probably going to Rome about 1683. By the time his son Thomas assumed the title, the Howard family fortunes however had improved, to be further increased by his successful political career.

Marrying the wealthy daughter of the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury in 1606, Thomas' artistic interests were nourished by his father-in-law, and his bent for collecting aided by the money she brought into the marriage. He became friend and artistic advisor to the young Henry, Prince of Wales and heir to the throne until his

³² H. Honour (1954) p.3 quotes a letter by George Vertue referring to William Kent's tour of 1709, aged about 20, accompanied by "Mr J. Talman and Mr W. Locke".

³³ see above, the Albani Collection, its sale and purchase by James Adam for George III in 1762.

untimely death at the age of eighteen in 1612, the year in which Arundel set off on his Grand Tour. Howard was accompanied for part of his journey by the artist Inigo Jones, who became a lifelong friend and artistic influence. It was moreover this first trip to Europe, and most particularly Italy, that influenced and began Arundel's collecting, including his passion for collecting drawings.

Arundel collected both through agents abroad and on his own travels on the continent later as a diplomat and ambassador for the English court. A withdrawn personality he kept himself separate from everyday court life, involved rather in his collections and the small circle of scholars attracted by it and his connoisseurship. His collections reveal the breadth of interests typical of earlier collectors, and included antique sculptures and inscriptions, as well as paintings and drawings. Arundel modelled himself on contemporary and sixteenth century Italian collectors who included drawings in their art collections; influenced by their philosophies of collecting, he was probably the first Englishman to think of his collections as an extension of himself. He saw the collection almost in a Machiavellian sense, which, like a person's clothes, speech and education, reveal at once his character and status; thus he realised the connection of a collection and the image of the collector.

Arundel's cabinet of drawings was therefore directly influenced by continental collections, most particularly Italian, and was unprecedented in Britain. It was mainly formed in the 1630s and included a broad cross-section of artistic schools and styles; little evidence however now remains concerning the content and growth of the collection as no complete catalogue was drawn up and it was dispersed soon after Arundel's death. A reference by Joachim von Sandrart in London in 1627 states that there was a considerable number of drawings already in

Arundel's collection by that date³⁴, and during the 1630s there are further records of his collecting, for the most part through agents on the continent³⁵. Negotiations took place through English ambassadors abroad, as in the case of Arundel's attempt to purchase a volume of Leonardo drawings in the possession of Don Juan da Espina in Madrid which dragged on over a number of years; whether he eventually gained the volume remains unclear³⁶. On his own travels Arundel gained further additions to the collection, either as gifts or direct purchases; for example on his trip to Vienna as Envoy Extraordinary for Charles I, the Emperor himself presented him with eleven volumes of drawings³⁷. He was thus recognised as a collector and connoisseur on the continent as well as in England, although his connoisseurship is typical of the early seventeenth century and lacks the precision and vigour of later scholarship. As such and as an experienced traveller on the continent, Arundel was however unusual for his time, anticipating the later eighteenth century collectors and Grand Tourists.

Arundel's career lost its impetus in the 1640s and in 1642 he retired to permanent exile on the continent, from where his collections were gradually dispersed by his widow and son, Lord Stafford, following his death. His drawings were subsequently scattered across Europe and England;

Il y a peu de bonnes collections en Angleterre ou l'on ne trouve un nombre considerable des Pieces qui composient celle de Mylord Arundel...

(There are few collections in England where one does not find a considerable number of works from the collection of Mylord

³⁴ D. Sutton (1947) p.4

³⁵ *ibid*, referring to Arundel's possible purchase of the cabinet of Daniel Nys, the painter largely responsible for the acquisitions of Charles I's great collection, and some pages from Vasari's *Libro*.

³⁶ *ibid* p.7

³⁷ *ibid* p.8

Many of the drawings from Arundel's collection have however been lost track of over the centuries due to the lack of evidence in the form of comprehensive cataloguing or listing of provenances in later collections; only the fame of the collection has survived intact.

The first major collection of drawings formed by an artist in Britain was that belonging to Sir Peter Lely (1618-80), the Dutch portrait painter. He lived in England for most of his career, where, despite the interruption of the Civil War in the 1640s and 50s, he enjoyed a successful career and reputation, earning enough to enable him to build a considerable art collection, including a large collection of drawings. The collection enjoyed a widespread fame, and even served as a sort of teaching academy for Lely's pupils and the artists training in his studio, recalling the Italian Academies of art and following from the tradition of the artist's collection and preservation of drawings³⁹, while anticipating the later collections of drawings formed by British artists such as Reynolds and Ramsay⁴⁰.

Lely's collection of drawings included works by the great masters of the High Renaissance in Italy and subsequent masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in both Italy and northern Europe. However, as with many earlier collections of drawings, Lely's attributions were often over-ambitious and incorrect. A reference to the sale of the collection in 1688 made by the organiser of the sale, Roger North, one of the executors of Lely's will, shows both the enthusiasm of potential buyers for the drawings and their over-keenness and confidence in giving the works to the great masters;

³⁸ Horace Walpole *Anecdotes of Painting* (1876) c.f. F. J. B. Watson (1944) p.224

³⁹ see above

⁴⁰ see below

...it is pleasant to see the confidence of the masters in christening drawings. They have a list, a Giulio, Paulo, Raphael, Titain etc. and because the drawings of these men have been seen, all that have any resemblance with them are fathered accordingly, and their value set, as their works...⁴¹

The sale of Lely's collections took place after his death in the 1680s. Much of it was sold by auction at Covent Garden in 1680, raising a total of £6 000; the drawings were not auctioned until 1688, but again proved a successful sale, raising £2 600 after only eight days. The enormous success of both of these sales was neither expected norprecedented, and was to have a great impact on the British art market, leading to the development of further sales of works of art and drawings. The drawings, stamped with the distinctive "P-L" mark, were dispersed to several of the great collections of Britain, including those at Chatsworth and Holkham, and are still recognisable in Museums and galleries of this country and abroad⁴².

Two major aristocratic collections of drawings were formed at the beginning of the eighteenth century at Chatsworth and at Holkham Hall, both of which remained intact until fairly recently. William Cavendish, the second Duke of Devonshire (1672-1729), succeeded to his title in 1707, up to which time he had had the leisure and opportunities to cultivate his interests in art. At the end of the seventeenth century his father, the first Duke, rebuilt the family house of Chatsworth in Derbyshire. The family fortunes were then at a zenith, thus allowing for the growth of the collections on the vast scale enjoyed by the second Duke. As well as a large art collection including paintings, silverware, antiquities and so on, similar to a typical collection of the nobility on a large or small scale, the second Duke developed a passionate interest in collecting drawings.

⁴¹ D. Sutton (1981) p.301

⁴² see below

William Cavendish was most probably instrumental in purchasing drawings from the late seventeenth century sales of the Lely and Lankrinck collections⁴³. However his first major purchase came in 1723 when he bought some of the collection belonging to Nicolaes Anthoni Flinck (1646-1723), the son of Rembrandt's pupil, Govaert Flinck. The drawings in the Chatsworth collection marked with the "F" of the Flinck stamp numbered about two hundred, and included Dutch and Flemish drawings - Rubens and van Dyck - and works by Rembrandt himself, preserved in his workshop and passed on to his pupil⁴⁴. The French connoisseur and collector, Pierre Crozat, wrote to the Duke complimenting him on the purchase of such a fine collection, praise indeed from such a discerning connoisseur;

I take the liberty of complimenting you on the drawings of the late Mr Flinck of Rotterdam, which you have just acquired. It is in my opinion the finest and best chosen collection I have ever seen and will materially enrich yours and make you the richest nobleman in Europe. All the drawings are admirable and worthy to find a place in your collection. I know the selection you had already made was no less choice.⁴⁵

The Duke made further purchases until his death in 1729, collecting works by major Italian masters of the Renaissance, High Renaissance and later, and acquiring, amongst others, drawings from the Arundel collection, two hundred sheets from Claude Lorrain's Liber Veritatis and the Italian sketchbook belonging to Van Dyck.

The drawings were for the most part preserved in large albums and stored in the library until the nineteenth century when the sixth Duke put many of the

⁴³ see above, Lely collection sale 1688, Lankrinck sale 1693/4

⁴⁴ see above and the tradition of passing on drawings master to pupil

⁴⁵ Old Master Drawings at Chatsworth (ex.cat. 1973) p.9

drawings on display in a Sketch Gallery on the top floor of the house, changing the mounts and framing the drawings. By the twentieth century this practice was no longer carried out, as awareness of conservation needs and the destructive properties of light put an end to the nineteenth century fashion for displaying drawings.

The collection remained intact until the 1980s, for the most part still as formed by the second Duke, with few additions - the third Duke made some purchases⁴⁶, and the family acquired a collection of designs by Inigo Jones through marriage⁴⁷. Since the 1980s parts of the collection have gradually been put up for sale and many pieces are now housed in major public and private collections in Britain and the United States. No comprehensive catalogue has been made of the collection, but the sales throughout the 1980s and exhibitions of drawings from the collection have shown the high standard of quality of the drawings and the definitive choice of the second Duke and his agents, for which, on such a large scale for a private collection, the collection is famous. The National Gallery of Scotland purchased in 1987 Raphael's study of a Kneeling Female Nude, an example of the exceptional quality of the drawings and the masters represented in the collection (fig 13)⁴⁸.

Thomas Coke, the first Earl of Leicester (1697-1759) differed from his counterpart the Duke of Devonshire, in actually travelling to the continent on a Grand Tour between 1727 and 1732. He subsequently built Holkham Hall in the Palladian style with the architect William Kent, Lord Burlington and Brettingham, and formed a small collection of drawings, totalling about 320. This collection, like

⁴⁶ for example thirty drawings from the Lanier collection, ref Watson (1944) p.224

⁴⁷ now on permanent loan to the Royal Institute of British Architects

⁴⁸ D 5145, purchased for £500 000 by private treaty sale, with £100 000 from the National Heritage Memorial Fund and £50 000 from the National Art-Collections Fund, The Scotsman 5/2/87

that at Chatsworth, remained intact until the later twentieth century when tax demands caused parts of it to be also put on the market in the late 1980s.

The collection of drawings at Holkham, although small, was of an exceptionally high quality and illustrative of the discerning taste of the collector, Thomas Coke. Coke purchased through agents abroad such as William Kent, Gavin Hamilton and Andrew Hay, and from auctions and sales rooms in London. The most concentrated periods of his collecting activities were around 1714 and 1716, then again in the 1750s, just before his death. The collection was strongest in Italian Baroque and seventeenth century works, perhaps made to fit into Coke's art collections as a whole in representing those periods, and thus completing an illustrated history of art, chronologically progressing from the classical sculpture and Medieval manuscripts in the collection, to later Italian paintings and drawings. Interestingly, few of the drawings are figure studies; Coke seems to have preferred compositional works which could be directly related to paintings either in his own collection or abroad.

The drawings were mounted in a similar style to the Richardsons' mounts and stored in dados in the library. Some were displayed, and as at Chatsworth more drawings were displayed in the nineteenth century until in the early twentieth century the scholar A. E. Popham helped to remount, store and catalogue the collection, checking and rethinking attributions. Its high quality was not however recognised by the nineteenth century German scholar Dr Waagen, who spoke of the collection in rather disappointing terms;

Of the other drawings...in these rooms, many are by Italian masters of the period of the decline of the arts, and many are of uncertain origin...(and) of no great importance.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ A. E. Popham (1986) p.2

The high quality of the works in the collection is apparent in the 1980s sales of two prestigious works by two of the High Renaissance giants, both going to the collections of Armand Hammer in New York; Raphael's cartoon of La Belle Jardiniere, purchased by Coke between 1713 and 1718 and formerly in the Arundel collection, and the original manuscript of Leonardo's Codex Leicester, purchased in 1717 from G. Ghezzi⁵⁰. Some of the seventeenth century Italian drawings have only in the past year been put on the market; unfortunately drawings are chosen to go under the hammer before other parts of the collection due to their less ostentatious nature. The sale of the drawings marks the beginning of the erosion of a collection which has stood intact for so long. However the National Gallery of Scotland, as one of a consortium of British museums attempting to keep at least some of the drawings in this country⁵¹, has only this year been however gained from the dispersal of the Holkham collection, acquiring some exceptional Italian drawings from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Parmagianino, Pietro da Cortona, Giovanni Battista Gaulli and Bernini⁵².

As the Chatsworth and Holkham collections were being formed, unprecedented leaps in English writing on art, including the art of drawing, were made by the two Jonathon Richardsons, father and son. As mentioned above the Richardson's remounted and transcribed the annotations of the Resta collection

⁵⁰ the Codex Leicester sold in 1980 to Hammer, *ibid*, and the Raphael cartoon in 1986, Master Drawings from the Armand Hammer Collection (ex.cat.1987)

⁵¹ The Independent 29/6/91 refers to the impending sale of the collection of drawings and the intervention of the group of museums. It also quotes the present Viscount Coke, in whose charge the house and collections are, "No one sees the drawings and they don't earn any income" and points out the dilemma an owner of such such a collection faces, while questioning the demands of the group of museums "Does it all matter, or is it another case of the heritage lobby blowing off a lot of hot air?" (G. Norman)

⁵² The Times 17/3/92 refers to the purchase of Parmagianino Virgin and Child and Pietro da Cortona St.Ivo Intervening on behalf of the Poor at a combined price of £125 000; The Scotsman 18/4/92 to the purchase of Gaulli Sacrifice of Isaac at £11 750 and Bernini Design for a Cardinal's Tomb at £40 250. Purchases were made with financial support from the National Heritage Memorial Fund, National Art-Collections Fund and Foundation for Sport and the Arts. See also below

during its brief sojourn with Lord Somers⁵³. The information and scholarship Resta's notes imparted were to have a profound effect on their understanding of drawings, as the only example of written comments on drawings in Britain at that time. Also an artist, Jonathon Richardson the elder (1665-1745) published An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy (1722), a comprehensive travel guide providing sound information on the art of Italy for the Grand Tourist or traveller, and the Essay on the Theory of Painting (1725). The Essay was moreover the first theoretical literature of this type to be written in England; previous English literature referring to art had been confined to poetical, educational and religious works, or technical manuals and translations of continental works; or latterly, travel guides - of which Richardson's 1722 Account was a better example. The lack of theoretical writing on art until Richardson's work thus recalls the situation in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when writers such as Alberti and Vasari were innovatory in writing on artists and artistic theory and practice. In the Essay Richardson furthermore leant heavily on these continental forerunners, closely following them in style and concept.

The Essay took the form of a theoretical handbook on artistic theory and practice, defining the purpose of art and the role of the artist. Moreover taste, like the Italian sixteenth century concept of the importance of judgement, is the ultimate guide to the understanding of art. Richardson's exhortations on taste echo the eighteenth century preoccupation as the gauge of the mind and the soul⁵⁴;

...to Combat but a False Taste, and a very low one; a Taste so False, and so Low, as to Imagine the Meanest Parts of a Painting to be the Whole or the Perfection of it... ⁵⁵

⁵³ see above, Resta Collection

⁵⁴ see below, Ramsay A Dialogue on Taste

⁵⁵ J. Richardson (1725/1971) p.IV

Richardson goes on to divide the different genres of painting into a hierarchical structure, again echoing theories developed since the Renaissance and artistic practice in academies of the eighteenth century. History painting stood at the top as the highest artistic representation, followed by portraiture - a specifically English genre - with genre painting, landscape and so on at the bottom end of the scale. The art of painting is moreover claimed as the highest art of universal communication, as it had been argued by Leonardo in his Paragone, two hundred years earlier;

Words paint to the Imagination, but every man forms the thing to himself in his Own way; Language is very Imperfect: there are innumerable Colours, and Figures for which we have no name, and an infinity of other Ideas which have no certain Words universally agreed upon as denoting them; whereas the Painter can convey his Ideas of these Things Clearly, and without Ambiguity; and what he says every one understands in the Sense he intends it.⁵⁶

And also as emphasised by the Italian Renaissance theorists, painting's status as an art of the intellect, combining poetry, science, mathematics and the mechanical use of the hand, is further reinforced by Richardson;

A Painter must not only be a Poet, an Historian, a Mathematician, etc, he must also be a Mechanick, his Hand, and Eye, must be as Expert as his Head is Clear, and Lively, and well stored with Science...⁵⁷

Italian art is praised by Richardson, but, always the local patriot - as were the Italian writers - he supports painting in Britain.

⁵⁶ ibid p.3

⁵⁷ ibid p.24

Following this preamble, which sets out Richardson's artistic theories and loyalties, the essay goes on to describe in detail the various elements of painting and sculpture - recalling Mariette's emphatic conviction of the necessary unity of the different elements of painting. Following the Vasarian and Tuscan tenets of the relevance of disegno, drawing is of prime importance. A whole section is therefore devoted to "Design or Drawing" - the use of both words in the title directly referring to the Italian word disegno. And drawing is thus for Richardson the base of all art; comprehending outline, shape, form, "and even Degrees of Lights, Shadows and Reflections" as well as perspective and even colour⁵⁸. In addition, various media can suggest colour, and, when fully exploited, produce different and unique effects;

...nor is a Drawing destitute of Colouring absolutely; on the contrary, one frequently sees beautiful Tints in the Paper, Washes, Ink and Chalks of Drawings...a Pen or Chalk will perform what cannot possibly be done with a Pencil, and a Pencil with a thin liquid only what cannot be done when one has a Variety of Colours to manage, especially in Oil...⁵⁹

Such recommendations suggest an interest in expression, not expanded by theorists on the continent until the seventeenth century, when appreciation of the loose sketch began to evolve⁶⁰. Richardson thus refers to the unfinished sketch in terms of praise;

...the first Sketches not being intended to express more than the general Ideas; any incorrectness in the Figures, or Perspective, or the like, are not to be esteem'd as Faults; Exactness was not in the Idea...

There is often a Spirit, and Beauty in a Quick, or perhaps an Accidental Management of the Chalk, Pen, Pencil, or Brush in a

⁵⁸ ibid p.143

⁵⁹ ibid p.152

⁶⁰ see above

Drawing...⁶¹

Repeated references are made to drawings belonging to the Richardsons throughout their writings: both father and son amassed considerable collections of drawings, which, as for Vasari, were a means of illustrating the history and theory of art expanded in their writings. As expounded in the elder Richardson's Essay, drawings were important in their relevance leading to understanding an artist and as the very basis of artistic practice, and as such were not only raised in stature as works of art, but also as valuable collectable items. It was however only the true connoisseur or art historian who could fully appreciate drawings; they were essentially still seen as the realm of the specialist. Thus he refers to the fortunate survival of drawings through time, and to the appreciation and collecting of them;

...and though too many are perish'd, and lost, a considerable
Number have escaped, and been preserved in our Times, some
very well, others not, as it has happened: And these are
exceedingly priz'd by all who understand, and can see their
Beauty; for they are the very Spirit, and Quintessance of the Art,
these we see the Steps the Maker took...⁶²

The elder Richardson's own collections included a large number of Italian works from the Renaissance to the Baroque periods. His enthusiasm for drawings is apparent throughout his writing, and in the section of the Essay on drawing he even apologises for going on too long -

The vast pleasure I take in these great Curioisties has carried me
perhaps too far....⁶³

⁶¹ Essay (1725) p.153/4 and p.167

⁶² *ibid* p.151

⁶³ *ibid* p.153

As for Vasari, Michelangelo was regarded by Richardson as the supreme master of drawing, although closely followed by Raphael and later sixteenth and seventeenth century masters of the Roman and Florentine schools;

Michelangelo was the most Learned, and Correct Designer of all the Moderns, if Raphaele were not his Equal, or as some will have it, Superior. The Roman, and Florentine Schools have excelled all others in this Fundamental part of Painting...⁶⁴

Richardson's collection thus included drawings by artists of the Roman and Florentine schools of the High Renaissance and the Baroque; furthermore the Essay refers to works by Barocci, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Tintoretto, Battista Franco, and Pietro Testa amongst others - a list which includes works by a Venetian and an Umbrian sixteenth century master. The collection was formed with examples from earlier great collections, such as those formerly owned by Lely, Lankrinck, Resta-Somers, John Talman, and so on⁶⁵. Sold in 1747 after his death by his son, some works from the collection were purchased by the later eighteenth century collectors Horace Walpole and Dr Mead, and some eventually made their way into the collections at the British Museum, such as a volume from the Resta-Somers collection. George Vertue referred to the success and popularity of the sale, a mark of the respect and recognition given to drawings as collectable items of artistic value, a recognition aided by Richardson's own work with drawings;

There appeared an unexpected ardour in the purchasers and they sold very well and some to extraordinary prices - for which reason on the last night of the sale Mr Richardson sent a letter of thanks to the Nobles and Gentlemen who had shown such marks of Respect and Esteem for his father's collection.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *ibid* p.148

⁶⁵ see above

⁶⁶ Sutton (1981) p.320, George Vertue Note Books III

The quality of the elder Richardson's collection shows him to be a discerning collector and connaisseur, as also was his son. As qualitative judges of drawings they were familiar with the great collections of Britain, acting in a sort of advisory role similar to the French connaisseurs Crozat and Mariette and the Italian artist-advisor like Vasari. Such use of the specialist reveals the collector responding to and recognising the connaisseur and the increased intellectual interest in drawings and their collecting. The Richardsons were thus the first connaisseurs of drawings in Britain at the beginning of the eighteenth century, bringing to the English language a theoretical basis to the collection and study of drawings.

CHAPTER 3: From Private to Public; Drawing Collections in Scotland

Towards the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, public collections of art first began to appear in Britain. The first museum in England was the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, founded with the natural history collections bequeathed to Oxford University by Elias Ashmole, and opened to the public as a museum in 1683. Subsequently however museums were slow to develop in Britain and it was not really until the nineteenth century that museums and galleries as we know them became established local or national institutions. The earliest public collections were, as that of the Ashmolean, based on private collections which were bequeathed or gifted by the owner to a public institution. This was similarly the case with the first publically owned collections of art, including collections of drawings.

Two of the most renowned museum collections of drawings still in Oxford today, the Christ Church and Ashmolean collections, were based on bequests or donations of collections formed by private collectors in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The bulk of the collection at Christ Church was amassed by John Guise, a former student who on his death left his collection of drawings to his old college. Guise (1682-1765), who had a successful career in the army, based his criteria for collecting on Vasarian principles, attempting to represent a history of Italian art in drawings by all of the major masters. His interest in collecting was therefore scholarly and similar to the antiquarian, and the drawings he collected were of a high quality and provenance, many of them coming from former great collections such as Vasari's Libro, the Viti-Antali collection, and the great English and French collectors, Lely and the Richardsons, Crozat and Mariette. The

collection came to Christ Church on Guise's death in 1765, to become famous to connosseurs throughout Europe¹.

The drawings in the Ashmolean Museum were acquired in the nineteenth century through three major gifts and bequests. The first of these was the purchase by public subscription of part of the notorious collection belonging to Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830) for Oxford University; well known for its dramatic history following Lawrence's death. Formed by the well-known portrait painter and President of the Royal Academy, the collection amounted in total to a large number of high quality drawings from various respected former collections. The majority of the drawings were by Italian masters; moreover the collection set Lawrence in the tradition of the great artist-collectors, from Vasari in Italy, to Lely and Reynolds in Britian. On his death in 1830, the executors of his will attempted to carry out Lawrence's wish to keep the entire collection intact and at the public's service. It was offered, on Lawrence's instructions, at a price of £18 000 first to the King, then to the British Museum and two individual collectors, all of whom rejected the offer². The executors of the will were eventually forced to sell the collection back to the dealer Samuel Woodburn, Lawrence's principal advisor in forming it, who in turn put it up for auction - and inevitable disintegration and dispersal. Prior to selling off the collection, Woodburn organised a series of ten exhibitions, each of a hundred drawings, to show the public what was being thrown from the grasp of national ownership as Lawrence had intended;

...the splendid and matchless Collection of Drawings by the
Ancient Masters, made by the late President of the Royal
Academy. It was formed by Sir Thomas Lawrence, not only for

¹ The drawings were, for example, annotated by the Venetian connosseur Zanetti: Zanetti died in 1767 so must have visited Christ Church between 1765 and 1767, at which time the collection must already have been famous.

² the collection itself had cost Lawrence at least £40 000; thus the £18 000 valuation was low in order to induce purchase, but still unsuccessful.

his own study, but also with the intention of forwarding the cultivation of the Fine Arts in the Kingdom, by their being ultimately placed in a locality where they should be ever open to the consideration and study of the amateur and the artist...³

The exhibitions reveal the content and quality of the items collected by Lawrence which were subsequently gradually dispersed and sold to various British and European buyers. In 1841 a consortium of public subscribers attempted to purchase the collection of the Michelangelo and Raphael drawings for Oxford University, finally succeeding by 1845 in raising enough funds to make the purchase. The unrivalled collection of about two-hundred and seventy drawings by Michelangelo and Raphael and their schools thus became part of the Ashmolean collection, still unequalled today. They were joined later in the century by a donation in 1855 of drawings from the collection of the landscape painter, Chambers Hall (1786-1855), and the bequest of the more antiquarian collection amassed by Francis Douce (1757-1834), transferred from the Bodlian Library in 1863.

Meanwhile, during the nineteenth century the new phenomenon of the art museum continued to develop, evolving from previously formed private collections of works of art. The National Gallery in London was founded in 1824, followed in 1858 by the National Gallery of Scotland. The British Museum had been formed as a public institution in the mid-eighteenth century (1753), its early collections based on gifts and bequests from private benefactors. It attempted to represent an encyclopaedic variety of collections, but the drawing collection was not formed until the nineteenth century, although again based on the good will of private benefactors. One such benefactor was John Malcolm of Poltalloch, a nineteenth century Scottish collector based in London, who amassed his collection of old

³ Exhibition Catalogues of the Lawrence Collection Drawings, The Lawrence Gallery (1835), introduction

master drawings mid-century and bequeathed them en bloc to the Museum's drawing department, to which they went on his death in 1895. His collection was formed with the help of Sir Charles Robinson, curator in the South Kensington, or Victoria and Albert, Museum; critic and pioneer in the study of old master drawings, and author of a Critical Account of the Drawings of Michelangelo and Raphael (1852). Robinson's introduction to an 1869 catalogue of the Malcolm collection states Malcolm's aims in acquiring his drawings and his criteria for judging a work, based on the drawing's authenticity, provenance, high quality and aesthetic value; quality judgements similar to those of the earlier French connoisseurs such as Mariette⁴. Robinson also refers to the size and quality of the collection, stating that although it is less extensive than the large collections of the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth century it has no claims to universality, which is

...only really appropriate in the case of public museums, having for a primary object to illustrate in full detail the entire range of art...⁵

It is interesting to note Robinson's association of the historically representative drawing collection with the art museum, illustrating "in full detail the entire range of art" in the encyclopaedic museum. This reveals the changing attitudes to collecting, developing as the art museum and gallery rapidly evolved. What was formerly, since Vasari, the realm of the individual - art historian, antiquarian or aristocrat - became that of the museum, and this concept of collecting remains tenable for the museum or gallery to this day. The role of the private collection was, in contrast, to reflect the individual taste and personality of the collector.

⁴ J. C. Robinson (1869) introduction; see also above

⁵ *ibid*

The National Gallery of Scotland

It was from the collections of such private benefactors, with the collection of the public art institution, the Royal Institution, that the permanent collection of the National Gallery of Scotland was formed. The Royal Institution was formerly the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, established in 1819, receiving a Royal Charter in 1827. Annual exhibitions of paintings by past and modern masters were organised by the Institution, but with more emphasis on the "Ancient Masters", and especially the Italians, who were thought to have more educational relevance - so much so that the Royal Academy was formed in 1826 in response to the lack of representation of the modern masters. The Institution also formed a permanent collection of old master paintings, with some prints, but no, or at least no old master, drawings. On the formation of a National Gallery of Scotland in 1850 these collections were subsumed into the Gallery collections. The new National Gallery was housed in its present building, designed by William Playfair, in 1859, although it was not until the later nineteenth century that the collection was systematically organised and acquisition policies loosely formed. By the twentieth century public institutions had become the great collectors of the most valuable works of art, often works which private collectors, especially those in Britain, could no longer afford to keep or purchase. Thus in 1903 the National Art-Collections Fund (NA-CF) was set up in response to the drain of works of art from private British collections being sold to collectors in the United States and elsewhere, offering financial support for British public collections instead to acquire works of art, keeping them in this country. The National Gallery extended its purchasing in the twentieth century with the help of the National Art-Collections Fund, acquiring items otherwise unattainable - especially with the phenomenal rise in price of works of art during this century, unmatched by government grants or aid - and formed specific collecting policies.

The Department of Prints and Drawings of the National Gallery of Scotland was not established as a separate entity until 1945, almost a hundred years after the art critic John Ruskin expressed the need for separate departments of prints and drawings in art museums;

The department for the drawings should be, of course, separate, and like a beautiful and spacious library, with its cases of drawings ranged on the walls (as those of the coins are in the Coin-Room of the British Museum), and convenient recesses with pleasant lateral light, for the visitors to take each his case of drawings into.⁶

By this time however there was a substantial collection of prints and drawings in the National Gallery, although it had grown more by accident than by design and was not highly organised, and certainly not reaching the level of accessibility Ruskin advised. The independent department was at first housed in Ainslie Place, but this accommodation was unsatisfactory and lacked space and suitable conditions for study⁷. A Print Room housing the collection of prints and drawings was added to the main gallery building as part of the subterranean extension, the so called "new wing", in 1978, allowing the department to join the rest of the collections on the Mound. This purpose-built space increased the accessibility of the collection and ensured a correct ambience for its organisation and preservation.

⁶ J. Ruskin (ed. J. Evans 1959) p.292. Ruskin also refers to the ideal conditions for the preservation and viewing of drawings; and their storage as part of a library, or like a numismatics collection - as was Leopoldo Medici's collection in seventeenth century Florence.

⁷ see catalogues of drawings from the Department; K. Andrews & J. R. Brochtrie (1960), Fifty Master Drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland (ex cat, 1961), Old Master Drawings, a Loan Exhibition from the National Gallery of Scotland in Aid of the National Art-Collections Fund (ex cat Colnaghi, 1966): ref 1966, "...students can see the collection by appointment. One room at the National Gallery is set aside for small exhibitions of prints and drawings from the Department, which are changed every two months. It is hoped that before many more years have passed the Department will be far better and more accessibly housed..."; the room at the National Gallery is still used for small exhibitions, see below, my exhibition.

As an independent department, the prints and drawings were systematically ordered and added to by the Keepers of the Department, James Brochtrie (1946 - 1958), Keith Andrews (1958 - 1985) and Hugh Macandrew (1985 - 1991). Separate catalogues of Scottish, Italian, Netherlandish and German drawings were published under these Keepers, making the collection more accessible to both the specialist and the ordinary visitor⁸. In his twenty-seven years in the National Gallery, Keith Andrews was probably the most instrumental Keeper; it was he who continued and completed Brochtrie's cataloguing of the drawings, while ordering and documenting the collection in the new premises on the Mound and filling gaps in the collection with a series of successful acquisitions, building it to the standard of a good representative collection. Andrew's collecting policies were the most scientific policies the department has managed to sustain; since his Keepership collecting has continued without a coherent overall policy but on a more or less opportunistic base. In the last thirty years or so the drawings have furthermore been on public display both in Edinburgh and abroad in a number of exhibitions, attaining due international respect as a small but highly representative collection.

The growth and development of the collections of the National Gallery of Scotland and the artistic setting in which it was formed were discussed by C. Thompson twenty years ago, in 1972, when he talked of the growth of the drawing collection from earlier bequests and accidental acquisitions and the development of a definitive collecting policy. As with the very earliest collections, paintings were first sought after for both private and public collections, then collections of drawings, and latterly prints, were formed.

The several collections received by the Gallery, from the stock in-trade of Allan Ramsay to the work of painter-etchers of this century, were isolated areas in a field that was not hitherto

⁸ J. Brochtrie & K. Andrews Catalogue of Scottish Drawings (1960); K. Andrews Catalogue of Italian Drawings (1968); K. Andrews Catalogue of Netherlandish Drawings (1985); K. Andrews (published posthumously) Catalogue of German Drawings (1989)

expected to be covered in any comprehensive way. A separate Department of Prints and Drawings was not established until 1945, and the policy of devoting substantial sums of money to the enrichment of the collection only began in the last fifteen years ⁹

The National Gallery of Scotland's collection of drawings began with three major bequests in the nineteenth century of a large number of high quality items. The very act of forming a bequest of drawings reveals the collector's interest in adding to a permanent collection which includes drawings, a concern which only evolved in the nineteenth century following from the eighteenth century private collection. The three bequests to the National Gallery were of collections formed following the patterns described above, being either those of an artist - Allan Ramsay's collection - or of an intellectual literary type - the antiquarians, David Laing and William F. Watson. They were not, however, of the aristocratic collection, of which there is little evidence in Scotland¹⁰.

The first drawings came to the Gallery in 1860, when a collection of about three-hundred and eighty drawings was gifted by Lady Murray of Henderland in memory of her husband, Lord Murray, great-nephew of the painter Allan Ramsay the Younger (1713-1784). Lady Murray bequeathed the rest of her art collection to the Gallery in 1861. The drawing collection was probably for the most part formed by Allan Ramsay, although some items may have been purchased later by his son, General John Ramsay, himself an amateur painter. The Ramsay collection, which also included paintings, Etruscan pottery, and ancient bronzes and marbles, passed on John Ramsay's death to his nephew, William Murray of Henderland, following a change to his will which previously directed the collections to the National Gallery in London; in turn, on the death of William Murray in 1854, they passed to Lord Murray and subsequently to his widow. For the National Gallery of Scotland the

⁹ C Thompson (1972) p.129

¹⁰ see above, John Malcolm of Poltalloch and the British Museum; and below, the Duke of Buccleugh

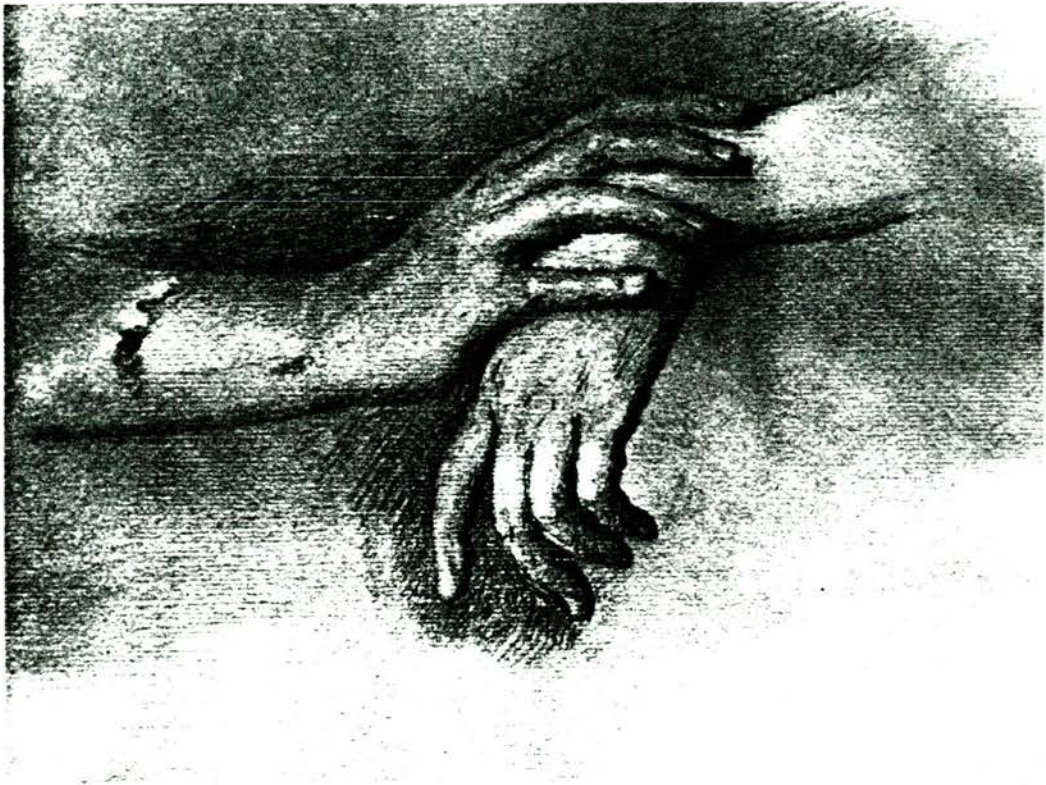


Fig 11: Allan Ramsay (1713-1784)

Study of Hands for the Portrait of Mrs Montagu

Black chalk and white heightening

National Gallery of Scotland

gift marked the inclusion of drawings in the permanent collections; the Gallery owned a very small number of works on paper at that time, perhaps possessing a few prints and even fewer drawings, mainly of Scottish interest - and no old master drawings. As the earliest drawing collections themselves, this, the first acquisition of the Gallery, was from a collection formed by an artist, the original connoisseur of aesthetic quality and technical mastery.

Allan Ramsay (fig 11) was a successful eighteenth century portrait painter, attaining royal recognition as Principal Painter in Ordinary to George III. He began his training in Edinburgh in the short-lived Academy of St. Luke (1729-1731), moving to London to continue his training and establish his reputation there, as was habitual for Scottish artists. Further conforming to the norm of an eighteenth century artist's education and career, he travelled to Italy, first from 1736 to 1738, when he studied in Rome and Naples, mainly in the studio of the painter Imperiale in Rome, and several times later in his career. In the studios abroad Ramsay studied the drawings of past and contemporary masters, forming his own collection of drawings after paintings and drawings he saw, and original works by his Italian counterparts and immediate predecessors. This collection formed a corpus of reference material in Ramsay's own studio, in which he followed the example of the Italian workshop model. In adhering to this model, Ramsay stood at the end of the line of this practice; by the end of the eighteenth century artists' education and training had begun to take place in academies rather than studios. Such institutions were advocated by the painter and influential Academician, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the old tradition of the workshop master and his pupils was increasingly considered old-fashioned. This type of an artist's collection of drawings for studio practice was thus soon to become obsolete¹¹.

¹¹ compare with Reynold's drawing collection, an artist's private and academic collection, not as Ramsay's, and similarly Lely's, Rembrandt's and countless past artists, for use in the studio.

The collection of drawings which survived and found its way into the National Gallery is not large, and is probably only a representative proportion of Ramsay's collection. Some of the drawings moreover may have been collected by Ramsay's son on his travels to Italy. An amateur draughtsman and collector himself - purchasing a group of eighteenth century French paintings amongst others - from 1782 to 1784 he accompanied his father to Italy, where he studied drawing under the then ageing Pompeo Batoni in Rome, and he is recorded in Italy at least once again in 1827. Unfortunately it is however impossible to tell which works were purchased by John Ramsay and which by his father. The drawings included in the collection were a variety of stock studio works, studies of poses and draperies, a series of hand and head studies by Ramsay himself - studies for his portrait painting - and drawings by and after late seventeenth and eighteenth century Italian masters such as Carlo Maratta, Benedetto Luti and Pompeo Batoni, which either father or son could feasibly have purchased.

Although a successful painter, Ramsay continually desired recognition for his written works, which included essays on a variety of topics ranging from aesthetics and history to politics and law. Living in the age of neo-classicism, Ramsay was familiar with the literature of the neo-classicists on the continent and acquainted with the architect Robert Adam and Piranesi in Italy. His ideas on art and taste are revealed in his writings, which show his interest and belief in the importance of antique art, the equality of painting and poetry, and the destructive power of fashion in forming artistic taste - reflecting the criticisms made by Pope, discussed above. His essay, the Dialogue on Taste (1762) reveals these ideas through the arguments of the two protagonists, one, Lord Modish, representing fashion, and the other, Colonel Freeman - Ramsay's own voice - free-thought. True beauty, upheld by Colonel Freeman, is that revealed in classical art and in nature herself, on which judgements of taste should be based;

Judgement and rules, whose humble servant and follower taste ought to be, are alone fit to decide, whether he (the poet or artist) is right or wrong.¹²

Ramsay's ideas on aesthetics can thus be related to the theories of the Italian cinquecento, basing art and taste on classical canons of beauty, and with nature as a base to all artistic creation - as put into practice in the seventeenth century through the Carracci school. Ramsay's collections thus followed, as his theories, the patterns established in the cinquecento in Italy, and included works of classical art and drawings. This pattern of collecting, attached to theories on art, came to Britain in the eighteenth century, and spread from the collections of artists and art theorists - often, especially earlier, one and the same - and to aristocratic and literary type collectors. In Scotland however it was the literary collector or antiquarian, rather than the aristocratic collector, who included drawings in his collections.

William Findlay Watson (1810-1881) amassed a collection of about fourteen hundred drawings, including around three-hundred Old Master drawings. This was received as a major addition to the Gallery's collection of drawings, bequeathed by Watson on his death in 1881. Very little is known about Watson's life and work, and how or why he formed such a collection. Little evidence has survived referring to him and no obituaries or information concerning him were published during his life or on his death. The son of a baker, he was apprenticed to a bookseller in 1825, setting up his own business in 1837 on Princes Street, and moving it to his residence in Newington, Edinburgh in 1862. His profession as a successful bookseller and antiquarian no doubt led to channels from which he was able to acquire drawings, although no records of them survive.

¹² "A Dialogue on Taste" (1762) p.74

His collection, bequeathed to the Board of Trustees for Manufacturers in Scotland, the organisation which administered the National Gallery at that time, also included letters, autographs and engraved portraits. The letters and autographs were passed to the National Library of Scotland on its formation in 1930, and the engraved portraits became part of the collection of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery when it was founded in 1882. The Board immediately passed the drawings to the Gallery in 1881.

Of the large collection of drawings, a number reveal Watson's taste and his particular interest in Scottish history and topography, as well as old masters. His taste was eclectic and the collection reveals a wide divergence in quality, with some works of an exceptionally high standard such as the sixteenth century Barocci Head of a Monk, and early quattrocento Gentile da Fabriano Christ and St. Peter on vellum, and other old masters as well as drawings by nineteenth century Scottish artists¹³. That works of a higher quality are included in a generally mixed collection seems however to be more accidental than the conscious choice of a greatly discerning collector.

The importance of Watson's drawing collection was however recognised in his own time, as is shown by the exhibition held at his Newington residence in 1865¹⁴. Organised by Watson it moreover shows the value he himself attached to his collections. The exhibition was of scenes of Edinburgh, "Its Houses and its Noted Inhabitants" of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, reflecting Watson's primary interest in Scottish history and topography. The catalogue however refers to other drawings in his collection, which includes

¹³ Barocci D 2250; Gentile da Fabriano D 2259; Battista Franco A Boy with Upraised Hands D 2893; Guercino A Dragon Observed by Spectators Behind a Wall D 2231 (see below my cat); Pietro Testa Venus and Aeneas D 2251 etc - cf Drawings from the Bequest of W. F. Watson 1881-1981 (ex cat 1981)

¹⁴ W. F. Watson (1865)

Artists' sketches, and more Perfected Drawings in Colour, of ancient as well as modern examples. This latter Series illustrates exclusively the History of Art in Painting and Engraving...since the revival of Letters in Europe to the present time.¹⁵

Written by Watson, he states his intentions in forming his collection as an illustration of the history of art from the Renaissance onwards - "since the revival of Letters in Europe to the present time". In attempting to do this he directly refers to the earliest collections of drawings, such as Vasari's, and the later aristocratic collections of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as those in England formed by Lord Arundel, Lord Coke at Holkham Hall and the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth. Paralleling his drawing collection, Watson also refers to his collection of engravings, "Selected Specimens of Works by the Chief Masters of Line Engraving", through which he was attempting to form a "Biographical and Public History of British and Foreign Personages"¹⁶. Thus the collections of drawings and engraved portraits together were intended to represent a sequential inter-related visual history of art and artists, as had collections following the first collections of drawings formed in sixteenth century Italy.

The second antiquarian collection of drawings acquired by the National Gallery through a bequest was that amassed by David Laing (1793-1878). Like Watson, Laing was a successful antiquarian bookseller, and as such he must have come across countless opportunities to build up his collections. Although little or nothing is known of the ways and means of the growth of Laing's collections, particularly his drawings, more evidence has survived concerning his life than of Watson's.

¹⁵ *ibid*, Watson's introduction

¹⁶ *ibid*

Laing was established in the profession of bookselling as a partner in his father's business, which after his father's death became his own. He was deeply interested in and committed to Scottish history, literature, and art, editing numerous volumes on these subjects and involving himself in groups of the same concerns. Although a quiet, private man, he assumed the public roles of Secretary to Bannatynes, the book club founded by Sir Walter Scott, and Librarian of the Society of Writers to her Majesty's Signet, while an active member of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1854 he was made Honorary Professor of Antiquities of the Royal Scottish Academy in recognition of his expertise in the field of antiquity and Scottish history, and in 1861 he was in addition created Honorary Professor of Ancient History of the Academy. It was moreover to the Royal Scottish Academy that he left some of his collections, including his drawings, on his death in 1878.

Laing's collections included, as Watson's, a large number of manuscripts, which he bequeathed to Edinburgh University. He left his collection of paintings to the Society of Antiquaries who ceded them, except the portraits, to the National Gallery; the portraits went to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, an establishment advocated by Laing but never realised in his lifetime. His collection of drawings however were left to the Royal Scottish Academy. An Academy report of 1878 refers to the bequest;

...an interesting and valuable collection of original drawings, studies and designs by deceased artists, which, when arranged in volumes by the Librarian - a task of very considerable difficulty - will be of great use for consultation and study...¹⁷

The drawings numbered in total about two thousand three hundred, and ranged, as Watson's collection, from Italian old masters to Scottish nineteenth century works. Records survive of Laing's travels to the continent in his profession as a bookseller

¹⁷ published in E. Gordon (1976) p.36

in 1816 and 1819, and again in 1838 and 1840, when he visited Italy, and of his contacts with agents abroad such as Andrew Wilson - the Scottish landscape painter, employed to purchase works of art in Rome and elsewhere abroad for the Board of Trustees responsible for the National Gallery collection. Thus Laing was in close contact with contemporary public and private collecting in Edinburgh. However, no references are made in Laing's manuscripts to purchases of drawings - although some are made to the purchase of prints as well as books¹⁸ - which seems an unusual omission for a man who took much care in meticulous record-keeping. In his business transactions, drawings would have been easily accessible to Laing, sold as books or literary material, in volumes and loose sheets in sales of antiquarian or bibliographic collections, thus readily available to a discerning book-collector and antiquarian¹⁹.

Laing's knowledge and experience in the field of art history is shown in his writing and editing on the subject. As an antiquarian his interest lay primarily in earlier Scottish history and art. A large number of drawings from his collection are however of sixteenth to eighteenth century Italian masters; perhaps, as Watson, he too was attempting to illustrate the history of art from its beginnings in the Italian Renaissance to contemporary Scottish art. Paintings from Laing's collection, now in the National Gallery of Scotland, include sixteenth century Flemish and Italian works - an Avercamp (1585-1634) Winter Landscape and an Italian Holy Family, formerly thought to be by Piero di Cosimo - and eighteenth century Scottish works, such as John Runciman's (1744-1768) King Lear²⁰. The drawings thus echo the variety of schools and chronological development which Laing's paintings showed.

¹⁸ Goudie (1913) in a reference to Laing's journal of his travels in 1816 and 1819, talks of purchasing books and prints.

¹⁹ see above and Ruskin's reference to the department of drawings "like a beautiful and spacious library"

²⁰ C. Thompson & H. Brigstocke (1978) cats. 647 (Avercamp), 645 (16th c. Italian), 570 (Runciman)

That Laing left the drawings to the Royal Scottish Academy is significant, revealing the purpose he intended for them. The Academy was established by contemporary Scottish artists in 1826 in response to the Royal Institution, which they felt placed too much emphasis on old masters and did not recognise contemporary art or allow them any say in the governing of the Institution. The Academy subsequently superseded the Institution as a school of drawing and painting with its own collection of old masters and contemporary art; in 1912 it took over the old Institution building, moving from what now houses solely the National Gallery collection on the Mound. Leaving a collection of drawings to the Academy moreover reveals Laing's wish for them to be used by the artists who came to draw and study there, thus actively playing a role in the development of contemporary art rather than lying sterile in, for example, the permanent collection of the National Gallery;

It is significant that he left his collection of drawings to the Royal Scottish Academy, of which he was Honorary Professor of Ancient History. He evidently regarded art students and artists as the only people likely to derive much advantage from them.²¹

That this use of the drawings was recognised by the Academy, as well as by Laing, is apparent in the 1878 report which refers to the collection, stating that it "will be of great use for consultation and study..."²²

On reception of the drawings the Academy had them bound into volumes following Laing's terms of the bequest;

...provided the Academy agree to have the whole classed and bound in volumes, excluding such as may be recorded not worth

²¹ Thompson (1972) p.70

²²E. Gordon (1976) p.36

preservation...²³

An Academy Report of 1884 records sixteen volumes, which by 1910 had become nineteen; these volumes were ceded to the National Gallery as part of the settlement made on the removal of the Royal Scottish Academy to the north building on the Mound²⁴. A residue of drawings from Laing's collection - recognisable by his handwriting on the reverse of the sheets - was furthermore discovered later this century in the Academy, although why they were not included in the volumes which went to the National Gallery remains a mystery. Perhaps they were deemed not worthy of inclusion by the Academy committee of 1884, following Laing's directions to exclude "such as may be recorded not worth preservation"²⁵; perhaps they came from a former unrecorded gift to the Academy from Laing; or maybe they were merely mislaid by the Academy in the upheaval of the move from one building to another. These drawings joined the rest of the collection in 1966 and finally in 1974, by which time Laing's collection, forming a substantial base and of great value to the Gallery's collection, was once again complete.

Further Public and Private Collections in Scotland

The systematic collecting of drawings by private individuals never took ground in Scotland as it did in England in the eighteenth century and onwards. There were no Scottish equivalents to the great English aristocratic collectors, and few Scottish artist-collectors; Allan Ramsay, a rare example of an artist-collector, has already been discussed above. Drawings collected by Scottish individuals in

²³ G. Goudie (1913) Laing's Testamentary Bequests, March 12, 1864. The Academy report of 1878 (see above) also refers to the Librarian's task of arranging the drawings in volumes.

²⁴ in return for unlimited free tenancy of the north building on the Mound, a government agreement was made whereby the RSA transferred 79 oil paintings, 6 sculptures and a large quantity of watercolours and drawings to the National Gallery.

²⁵ Goudie (1913) Laing's Testamentary Bequests 1864

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are now for the most part housed in public collections both in Scotland and England, and there is little further evidence of other private collections of drawings in Scotland²⁶. In private collections, any drawings tend to be family portraits or topographical drawings and watercolours; both relevant to the family, recording people, the estates or referring to the family history²⁷. Where drawings are collected as works of art, they are more often by Scottish artists than old masters.

In 1850 the German art historian Gustav Waagen, director of the Royal Gallery of Pictures in Berlin, travelled Britain reviewing the country's art collections. The account he made of British art collections was published in 1854 - The Treasures of Art in Great Britain, being an account of the chief collections of Paintings, Drawings Sculptures, Illuminated Manuscripts etc - and has proved to be an invaluable source of information for subsequent generations to this day. As the title shows, his research included recording drawings in British collections. He lists the major past collectors and those currently collecting drawings in England - concurrent with the "ancient fondness of the English for drawings by the Old Masters"²⁸ - but when in Scotland he seems to find very few drawings. The major public collections he visits in Edinburgh and Glasgow contain the odd drawing, but nothing to exclaim about and in no great numbers. In Edinburgh no drawings are recorded at all - it has to be remembered that this was before the major bequests to the newly formed National Gallery - while in Glasgow a small number are recorded. These include a Rubens in the collection of Dr Hunter in the University

²⁶ see above, for example the Malcolm Collection in the British Museum and the National Gallery of Scotland gifts and bequests.

²⁷ "...it would be accurate to say that substantial holdings of old master drawings of any kind are in the minority in Scottish private collections. Most collections will tend to contain portrait drawings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The reason for their presence in the collection is almost invariably a family connection rather than a question of taste. The same generally true of topographical drawings and watercolours which usually have a specific connection with the family estates or history." Helen E. Smailes, letter 30/4/92 Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

²⁸ G. Waagen (1854) p.27

collections - bequested to the university by Hunter; a Reynolds belonging to Alexander McLellan, founder of the present McLellan Galleries; two sketches from the school of Rubens in the collection of Sir Archibald Campbell - a collection formed by his grandfather, Sir Illay Campbell; and a further drawing by Rubens belonging to the Duke of Hamilton of Hamilton Palace. Outside Edinburgh and Glasgow, Waagen found a "small but choice" collection of drawings owned by a Captain Stirling of Glentyan, Renfrewshire, in which he recorded a study by Raphael and a Bernardino Luini cartoon²⁹.

My own research into private Scottish collections of drawings has yielded about as much success as Waagen's a hundred and fifty years ago. The individual Scottish collector, although fairly typical in collecting paintings, does not appear to have much interest in collecting drawings, and even less in old master drawings³⁰. For example the famous collector of Spanish paintings at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Captain Stirling-Maxwell of Pollock House, Glasgow, acquired only a very small number of drawings by Spanish artists; a single possible Murillo survives from his collection. With no systematic purchasing policy and in no great number, the drawings in the collection preserved at Pollock House appear to have been purchased almost accidentally.

A small collection including Italian old master paintings and drawings was formed at the beginning of this century by a collector from Dundee, William G. Schiell. In the 1950s he gifted his collections to his home town and they are now housed in the McManus Gallery in Dundee. Schiell spent most of his life in London, and it was there he amassed his collections. From a total of fifty-five

²⁹ *ibid* p.314 the Raphael a study for the Preaching of St. John; the Luini a cartoon for the Marriage of St. Catherine

³⁰ A drawing has been noted on display at Earlshall Castle, Leuchars, Fife, possibly a late sixteenth/early seventeenth century Ecstasy of St. Francis (i.e. before a Madonna and Child) .

paintings and drawings now in the Dundee collection, eighteen of them are drawings, of which seventeen are from the Roman and central Italian schools of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries³¹. Schiell can thus be seen as a conventional collector of drawings, still adhering to the precedents established by Vasari in collecting works from the great schools of disegno in the early years of this century.

Only one aristocratic collection in Scotland appears to contain a noticeable number of drawings; the Buccleugh collection at Bowhill House and Drumlanrig Castle in the Borders. The collection was amassed by various members and generations of the Dukes of Buccleugh, with further additions through marriage, such as the 1767 union of the third Duke to Elizabeth Montague, heiress to the Montague collections and estates³². The same Duke (1746-1812) went on a Grand Tour of Europe in 1764 with the Scottish economist Adam Smith, a tour which perhaps instigated an enthusiasm for art collecting³³. That the Buccleugh collections include drawings is known, but what these drawings are and when or by whom they were collected remains unknown, although it can be assumed that they are not of great importance³⁴. Early twentieth century catalogues list only works of art on display in the different rooms of the various Buccleugh properties; the odd drawing is mentioned amongst the paintings, most often a family portrait sketch, topographical view, or architectural drawing, although a Raphael cartoon, or portion of one, is referred to at Boughton House, a Montague property³⁵. The

³¹ Dundee City Art Gallery Catalogue of the Permanent Collection of Paintings Drawings and Sculpture (1973)

³² this inheritance included the controversial Leonardo da Vinci Madonna of the Yarnwinder, now on exhibition in Edinburgh.

³³ Hibbert (1987) p.235

³⁴ Application to visit and research the Buccleugh collection was refused; if the collection included drawings of as much importance as the Leonardo painting however one assumes that some publicity might have been made. The collection is not catalogued; but the very act of keeping it private recalls the essentially private and individual nature of a drawing collection.

³⁵ for example five architectural drawings by Robert Adam are listed in the 1953 catalogue of Drumlanrig; the Raphael cartoon is referred to as part of an Ecce Homo.



Fig 12: Joan Eardley (1921-1963)
Bean Pickers, Lincolnshire c1949
Pen and ink
Scottish Arts Council

Montague marriage also brought several drawings by the eighteenth century topographical artist, Paul Sandby, showing views of Windsor park and castle³⁶. This however suggests that the more interesting drawings beyond family portraits and topographical views, came for the most part from the Montague side of the family, and therefore originated in an English collection.

Further Public Collections in Scotland

The main public holdings of art in Scotland other than the National Gallery of Scotland, include drawings in their collections, although with an intentional bias towards Scottish art and artists (fig 12). In Glasgow the Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum houses a large print room, but comparatively few drawings. The prints number in total around ten thousand, while the watercolour and drawings collection amounts to about two and a half thousand - most of them British from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Unlike the National Gallery in Edinburgh, no major bequests of old master drawings came to the Gallery, and the drawing collection contains no works of great interest - although the print collection includes a hundred and fifty etchings by the seventeenth century Italian artist Salvator Rosa³⁷. The Huntarian Art Gallery, also in Glasgow, was formed from a series of bequests in the first half of the twentieth century following the original bequest of William Hunter's founder collection, which included paintings. The later bequests contained a large number of works by James Whistler and Charles Rennie Mackintosh, as well as other nineteenth and twentieth century, particularly Scottish artists, and included drawings - the Gallery now houses a representative selection

showing six figures and measuring 3'3 1/2" + 2'9 1/2", Montague House cat.32 (1939) at Boughton House, valued at £300.

³⁶ P. Oppe (1947) p.8 (introduction) refers to seven drawings by Paul Sandby in the Buccleugh collection at Drumlanrig, left by the Duke of Montague, Governor of Windsor Castle, to his daughter and sole heiress, the Duchess of Buccleugh.

³⁷ Recently a collection of about fifty old master drawings has been loaned to the Kelvingrove Gallery by an anonymous lender. On Rosa see my ex. cat. below.

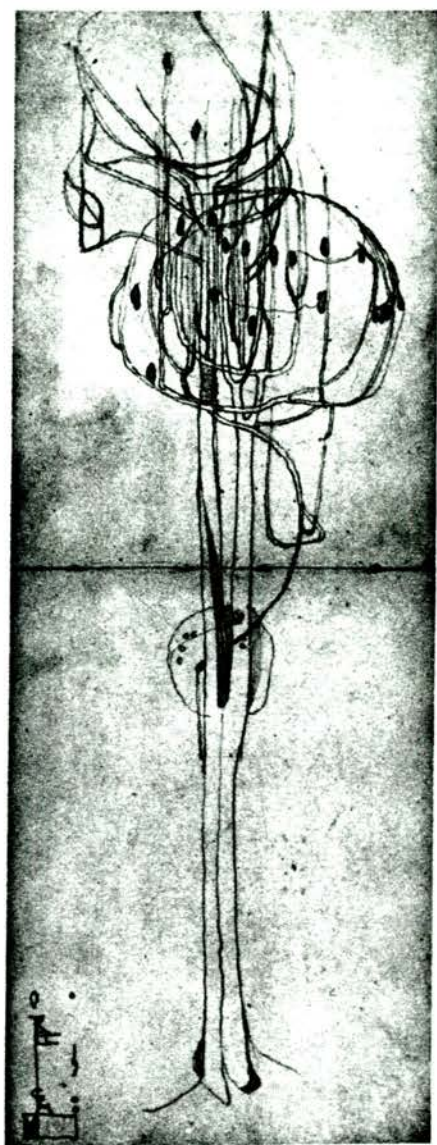


Fig 13: Charles Rennie Mackintosh
Drawing of a Stylized Tree 1900
Pencil
Glasgow University Collection

of Rennie Mackintosh drawings and watercolours (fig 13). As at Kelvingrove, a large and comprehensive print collection has been amassed, amounting to about twenty thousand items, but the works on paper - including drawings - come to a much smaller total. Finally the third main collection at Glasgow is the Burrell Collection, amassed by the nineteenth century collector William Burrell, who included in his collections but few drawings, for example some nineteenth century French and Scottish works.

Further public galleries at Stirling, Perth and Aberdeen, have numbers of drawings in their collections; these are mainly of Scottish interest, relating to the local flavour of these galleries and the painting collections, primarily by Scottish artists. The drawings are moreover of minor importance in the collections; for example at Stirling,

Prints, drawings and etchings comprise some two hundred works, mainly of poor quality and no local interest. A small number are local views of historical, rather than artistic interest...Prints, drawings and etchings will not be acquired unless of exceptional local interest.³⁸

Meanwhile at Perth and Aberdeen art galleries a somewhat less limited attitude to collecting drawings is taken, although again the emphasis is on the purchase of Scottish works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries prior to any other school;

Our current Collecting Policy seeks to add to the collection of Scottish drawings by the purchase, gift or bequest of quality representative examples of works by identified Scottish artists...to help fill gaps in the existing collection. Works by non-Scottish artists would only be acquired where there is a

³⁸ Collecting and Disposal Policy The Smith Art Gallery and Museum (1992) 5.2 Fine Art

strong connection with the district for local topographical views.³⁹

These galleries consequently do not have large collections of drawings or separate departments of drawings. The drawings they do possess are moreover treated in a similar way to the paintings, listed in the catalogues beside and not distinguished from painted works. The drawing is seen as such as a work of art equalling the painted work - a re-evaluation also apparent in the twentieth century break down of media categorisations - and thus collected concurrently with paintings. This is paralleled in the concept developing in the larger museums and galleries in Britain of integrating paintings and drawings of a particular school and placing them under the onus of a single Keeper, rather than in separate departments; a move possibly soon to be instigated in the National Gallery of Scotland.

The National Gallery of Scotland Today

It thus remains for the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh to represent the traditional drawing collection and to be the sole collector purchasing old master drawings north of the border. Acquisitions, except under the Keepership of Keith Andrews who greatly increased and improved the collection, have been and currently are however on a more or less opportunistic base, dependent on financial and temporal circumstances and opportunities. Despite this, major acquisitions have been made in the last twenty or thirty years, increasing the collection in both quality and quantity. In the 1970s, for example, a number of drawings by Pietro Testa were acquired with the help of the National Art-Collections Fund, adding to the Gallery's representation of Testa and forming one of the finest collections of his drawings in Europe, further enhanced by the Testa etchings subsequently purchased by the Gallery⁴⁰. In the last six years the Gallery

³⁹ ref Robin Roger, Perth Museum and Art Gallery, letter 15/4/92

⁴⁰ "The acquisition of the Testa drawings in 1972 was a major coup for the Department, and would have been impossible without the grant of £2 000 from the

has also added to the collection with the purchase of drawings by two of the High Renaissance giants not previously represented; a Raphael, red chalk Kneeling Female Nude, and a Leonardo, Studies of the Paws of a Wolf. These two major acquisitions were made through private treaty sale with aid from the National Art-Collections Fund and the National Heritage Memorial Fund. Both drawings came from private English collections - the Raphael from the Chatsworth collection, the Leonardo from an anonymous collector - and were prevented from leaving the country through the imposition of export licences, automatically imposed on works of art valued at over £35 000⁴¹. Such major acquisitions were unexpected and unplanned coups for the Gallery, and form prime examples of the success of opportunistic purchasing. It now remains for the Department to acquire a Michelangelo drawing; a supreme High Renaissance draughtsman, and, as Leonardo, highly competitive in the art market, Michelangelo is not otherwise represented in the Gallery's collection, but a work by him could only be purchased through such a chance opportunity.

The Gallery's most recent acquisitions of drawings took place only this year with the purchase of four sixteenth and seventeenth century Italian works from the collection acquired by Thomas Coke for Holkham Hall⁴². These drawings, by Parmagianino, Pietro da Cortona, Giovanni Battista Gaulli and Bernini, filled existing gaps in the collection or increased the Department's representation of a particular artist. The Department now holds a sure Parmagianino, and has added a

NA-CF: Edinburgh is now the richest of European galleries in holdings of this subtle and intriguing seventeenth century artist, and has since acquires a complete set of his etchings" Prints and Drawings Acquired with the Aid of the National Art-Collections Fund (ex. cat. 1983); see also below, my cat

⁴¹ ref The Scotsman 5/2/87 to the purchase of the Raphael (D 5145) at £500 000 through private treaty sale, with £100 000 from the National Heritage Memorial Fund and £50 000 from the NA-CF; and 16/5/91 the purchase of the Leonardo at £670 000, formerly sold in 1860, with another work, for 2.5s: see also Saved for Scotland, Works of Art Acquired with the help of the NA-CF (ex. cat. 1991) cats 69/70.

⁴² see above Holkham Hall; The Times 17/3/92 and The Scotsman 18/4/92

complex preparatory study to the Pietro da Cortona already in the collection. The drawings by Bernini and Cortona increased the representation of works from the Roman school of the seventeenth century, and with the drawing by Gaulli, a Genoese, the stock of Genoese drawings was enhanced⁴³. The Holkham drawings were, like the Raphael and Leonardo, prevented from sale abroad through the imposition of export licensing; a pool of about twenty drawings from the collection was offered to a consortium of the main British museums and galleries with collections of drawings. These four particular drawings were chosen by the National Gallery of Scotland as pertaining to their collections, and the purchase aided by the National Art-Collections Fund, the National Heritage Memorial Fund and the Foundation of Sport and the Arts. Working on this basis of adding to the collection, what the next acquisitions will be remains to be seen. Acquisitions open up as well as fill gaps in the collection; thus collecting goes on and will continue into the twenty-first century.

Since the department of Prints and Drawings was established in 1945, the National Gallery has housed a number of exhibitions from the collection of drawings and, as they became nationally and internationally known, drawings have increasingly been in demand for exhibitions both in this country and abroad. This demand further increased with the recent growth of recognition of the importance and artistic value of drawings and the interest in displaying drawings in exhibitions of both the large blockbuster type and the smaller thematic display. The earliest exhibitions purely of drawings from the collection were of general content; Fifty Master Drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland (1961), The National Gallery of Scotland Colnaghi Exhibition of Drawings in Aid of the National Art-Collections Fund (1966), and so on. Exhibitions followed referring to the genesis of the

⁴³ see The National Gallery of Scotland Genoese Drawings of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries pamphlet accompanying exhibition (1988); the Gallery has thus enhanced a good selection of Genoese drawings.

drawing collection and its major bequests and gifts; Drawings from the Bequest of David Laing (1978) and Drawings from the Bequest of W. F. Watson 1881-1981 (1981). More recently the Gallery has put on smaller thematic exhibitions, showing just one small part of the collection, a task which has become more feasible as the collection increased; The National Gallery of Scotland Genoese Drawings of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1988), and the most recent (unpublished) exhibition of Italian Figure Drawings, from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century (1992)⁴⁴. Drawings such as the Raphael Kneeling Female Nude are in frequent demand for exhibitions here and abroad, while a successful exhibition devoted to the National Gallery collection was put on in 1991 in Washington D. C. under the auspices of the then Keeper of Prints and Drawings, Hugh Macandrew⁴⁵.

Drawings are nowadays seen more and more frequently on display, both beside painted works and independently. The Leonardo exhibition currently on show in the National Gallery of Scotland shows both paintings and drawings by Leonardo, referring the drawings to the theme of the exhibition and showing examples of drawn studies in relation to the paintings⁴⁶. The most recent exhibition in the Gallery purely of drawings - Italian Figure Drawings - without the attraction or publicity works by Leonardo bring did not however appear to attract a great amount of interest. On a busy, wet, winter weekend afternoon, little attention was paid to the drawings displayed and the room where the drawings were hung remained quiet, with only a few stray visitors taking a quick look, while the rest of the gallery was crowded. Perhaps the nature of the room, with its plain grey hessian walls and the lower lighting drawings necessarily demand, in contrast with the strong, deep colours and bright light of the rest of the gallery, contributed to this lack of notice; although drawings, as smaller and less colourful works, inevitably

⁴⁴ see ex. cats. of all these exhibitions, of the same title - except the last.

⁴⁵ H. Macandrew (ex. cat. 1991)

⁴⁶ The Mystery of the Madonna of the Yarnwinder

attract less immediate attention. How drawbacks such as the necessity for low lighting and a neutral background, and the less distinctive nature of drawings can be overcome remains a problem in their display. It seems almost inevitable that drawings will remain the realm of the specialist or connoisseur, as they have been from the earliest artist-collectors collections to those of the aristocracy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to the connoisseurs and art-historian collectors of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Private collectors of drawings continue to amass and acquire substantial collections, while for the museum or gallery of today and of the future, the task remains to reveal to the general public the beauty and individuality of the drawings in their care.

This should however be an easier task in the artistic ambience of the late twentieth century, when the qualities of art most appreciated are those embodied in drawing. As with any display of works of art, drawings on show are taken out of context; this causes problems of comprehension, perhaps more difficult to resolve with drawings than with the more public arts of painting or sculpture, but the intimacy and simplicity of a drawing speaks to the viewer with an immediacy and accessibility which is ultimately outside time. As a conclusion to my thesis tracing the history of the recognition and collecting of drawings, I have formed a proposal for an exhibition of sixteenth and seventeenth century Italian drawings from the National Gallery of Scotland collection. In this I have attempted to show the value of the drawings of this period and their relevance to the specialist and non-specialist today. Although an essentially private and intimate art form, the art of drawing can be revealed to the public in the late twentieth century through the medium of the exhibition and accompanying writing, thus enjoyed by the private individual in a public setting.

SECTION TWO

Rebirth in Baroque Lines

**A Proposal for an exhibition of sixteenth and seventeenth century
Italian drawings from the Prints and Drawings Department of the
National Gallery of Scotland**

The drawings were chosen for this proposed exhibition from the Prints and Drawings Department of the National Gallery of Scotland. The collection of drawings in the Gallery is not vast, and enabled a small yet comprehensive selection to be made within the theme of the development of the art of drawing from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century in Italy. The choice of drawings was inevitably personal and essentially arbitrary, although I attempted to choose with an objective eye for quality.

Many enjoyable hours were spent pouring over the drawings in the Gallery's collection, from which I gleaned a profound appreciation and hopefully an understanding of the art of drawing. I have attempted to convey these perceptions in my choice of drawings and the accompanying catalogue. For my understanding of the art of drawing is essentially as an intimate or private art. In looking at a drawing one feels almost like a voyeur, secretly watching the artist at work while he himself is unaware of being watched, a sensation not experienced in viewing the public arts of painting or sculpture. There is an intimacy in perceiving the very movement the artist makes, each flick of the wrist and poise of the pen imprinting a mark on the paper. Executed with such speed and apparent carelessness, a drawing emits a sense of the artist's presence, even his private enjoyment, in the very lines and marks of the media. In understanding a drawing somehow the viewer enters into the private world of the artist, an experience perhaps similar to reading poetry. Vasari related that Michelangelo destroyed many of his drawings before his death, a tale which reveals both the drawing collector Vasari's recognition of the personal nature of drawings, and the artist Michelangelo's desire to hide these personal papers from public view¹.

¹ Vasari/Bull (1965) p.419 "I know for a fact that shortly before he died he burned a large number of his drawings, sketches, and cartoons so that no one should see the labours he endured and the ways he tested his genius, and lest he should appear less than perfect."

In selecting the drawings for my proposed exhibition, I attempted to illustrate both the intimate and the timeless nature of a drawing, while showing the beauty and development of the art of drawing within a particular period of time. Limiting my choice to works from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the second half of the seventeenth century, the exhibition follows the development and close relation of the art of drawing from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Reflections and refractions of style and technique, vision and meaning are apparent in the art of every period; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the great draughtsmen of the High Renaissance were regarded as the prime producers of perfect drawing, and can be almost seen as catalysts from whom subsequent art developed. Baroque drawing evolved as a more painterly and suggestive style than Renaissance; lines merge into tone, light flickers and structures, creating a heightened sensuousness, flowing atmosphere and spaciousness, yet still with a sense of mass modelling form. Poised at the limit of the represented time, Rosso Fiorentino, the earliest artist shown, was born at the end of the quattrocento and active in the central Italian artistic centres, Florence and Rome. He is included as his work can be seen in direct relation to the great masters of the High Renaissance in central Italy, continuing their styles, use of media and

This is not an obvious connection to make as the Tyronic portrait was an "animated , but artificial puppet" (2), and therefore seemed to have no visual connection with the life drawings Lewis had been so concerned with in 1919, and which are the dominant view of the figure represented in the portfolio of Fifteen Drawings. However, Lewis certainly made a connection between the two as he included two "Crouching Nudes", two "Seated Nudes", a "Nude Standing" and a "Nude study" in his exhibition Tyros and Portraits 1921. This juxtaposition of such life drawings with the obviously satiric Tyros implied that Lewis also regarded the life drawings as satires.

If this is so, then it is clear that Lewis felt his work of 1919 had been misinterpreted. This was evident in the criticism of the portfolio of Fifteen Drawings ; the implication being that drawings like Head I and Head II were bordering on a "prettiness" in his style and content. This mis-interpretation induced a satiric back-lash by Lewis which was fuelled by the argument with Bell over "Wilcoxism".

In seeing the Tyro portraits as satires of Lewis's enemies and the life studies as satires on the Matissean nature-morte vision of the nude, this evaluation could lead to a conclusion that Lewis's art was nothing more than a self-indulgent argument between the image and his own personal beliefs.

But Lewis in his writings from Blast(1914) to The Caliph's Design (1919) constantly extended his discoveries as an artist to the problems of daily life:

"Your interest in the forms around you should be one liable to transfigure and constantly renew them: to use the grand masses of life, in fact, as the painter uses the objects on the table. He does not paint those objects as though he were photographing them. He arranges ,simplifies and changes them in his picture. So it should be with the larger form-content of general and public life.(3)

of artistic practice and drawings were recognised as collectable works of art. Some works from other schools are also shown, from Venice (cat.12), Emilia (cats.1 & 2), Genoa (cat.3) and so on, through which I attempted to suggest cross-influences of styles and techniques, and emphasise the variousness of different schools. For example Battista Franco (cat.12) is compared with Ludovico Carracci (cat.11) in works which show similarities of style and treatment of subject, although Franco's shows the influence of both Rome and his native Venice, and the permeations of Venice in Bologna are suggested in Ludovico's style, thus revealing the inter-relation of influences across both temporal and geographical boundaries.

The space intended for the exhibition was also held in mind in the choice of drawings. The proposed space for the display is the long octagonal room at the rear end of the ~~gr~~ound floor of the Gallery building on the Mound, a room frequently used for smaller exhibitions throughout the year. Widely spaced around the room on the light grey walls, the drawings would assume an air of intimacy while the individuality of each work was brought out. The lighting would necessarily be controlled at a low level, which with the monochrome colouring and lowered ceiling could create a psychological barrier as the visitor views the room from the brighter, lighter rooms displaying the the paintings. Thus the visual impact and display was an important factor in choosing and organising the drawings. This also determined the organisation and order of the display; each drawing's size, media, colour and subject was taken into consideration in relation to its adjuncts, building a series of contrasts and drawing on similarities.

Works executed in a variety of media were chosen, showing the full range of media used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Contrasts and combinations of colours and techniques were furthermore considered in the hang of the drawings. Media ranges from the purely monochrome pen and brown ink to the softer chalks and mixed media studies. Pen and ink and wash was however the media

increasingly employed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as shown by the predominance of drawings in this media, especially the later works, although the final work of the school of Rosa executed in red chalk reminds that that medium remained popular. While ink allows a dramatic sense of execution and immediacy, developing to an almost painterly application, its varying degrees of strength suggesting colour as well as volume and light (cat.17), the softer chalks bring a greater sensitivity (cat.7) and mixed media studies a dramatic, almost painterly, suggestion of colour (cats.4 & 5).

Although outlining this stylistic development, the order of the exhibition is not strictly chronological or confined to separate categories of different media. I felt a purely chronological progression would lose visual coherence, merely assuming the function of a historical catalogue. I therefore ordered the drawings suggesting stylistic progression while pointing out differences and similarities across temporal and geographical boundaries. Thus contrasting, or what I felt were related drawings are juxtaposed, such as the Franco and Ludovico Carracci mentioned above. The exhibition opens with three starkly contrasting artists from the temporal and geographical limits of the exhibition; Barocci, his near-contemporary Genoese Luca Cambiaso and the seventeenth century Roman Pietro Testa (cats.1-6). In juxtaposing these artists a stylistic progression and geographical diversity is revealed in drawings related in function and treatment of subject, as preparatory figure composition studies directly referring to finished painted works.

Throughout the drawings are organised in this way according to function or subject; the first group as mentioned shows composition studies, revealing the importance of drawing in the serial development process leading to the finished work of art, with which they are directly related. The second group shows two landscape studies, which contrast with the preparatory studies in having no apparent relation to painted works but as seemingly independent, autonomous drawings. Finally the

largest category is of figure studies, although contained within this group is a diversity of purpose and styles. The nude figure studies by Rosso (cat.14) and Montelatici (cat.15), were both executed in the same media and as studies for paintings, but show a profound difference in style and conception, the sculptural and massive Rosso contrasting dramatically with the effervescent and whimsical Montelatici. Also included are imaginative studies, capricci (cat.18) and caricatures (cat.20), revealing a new category of drawings executed and collected towards the end of the sixteenth century. Closely related to this category are drawings such as Mola's imaginative and intimate depiction of Sleeping Figures (cat.19), regarded, as the capricci and caricatures, as autonomous drawings independent from any finished work of art.

These later drawings thus question the function of drawing and refer to the purpose and market for collecting drawings. In the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries appreciation of the loose, rough sketch developed, reflected by the preservation of preparatory studies - such as Barocci and Testa (cats.1-6) - not just by artists and workshops, but also by collectors. While the more finished drawings - Rosso (cat.14) and Rosa (cat.23) - were consistently popular, works like Mola's (cat.19) began to assume a special role in art appreciation. Unrelated to any painted work, this type of drawing was executed and collected as an autonomous work of art, and like the caricature type sketches, created for collection or presentation as unfinished works on paper (cats.18 & 20).

The choice of geographical and temporal boundaries was fitting as it was in central Italy where drawings were first collected from the sixteenth century. It is thus works such as those exhibited which formed the earliest collections of drawings. These were formed by artists, first to comprehend the practical and theoretical relevance of drawing, but closely followed by non-artist collectors; art-historians, aristocratic patrons of art, and the rapidly evolving connosisseur or drawing

specialist. As collectors began to enjoy and recognise value not just in finished "presentation" drawings, but also in unfinished sketches, preparatory studies for finished works of art in other media, and capricci or imaginative works, the whole question of what constituted value in a drawing began to change. Drawings were seen as autonomous whether relating to another work of art or purely independent, a valuation which remains yet more pertinent to this day. In response to this, artists created rapid sketches, quick and brief delineations of form, which in the later Baroque and Rococo became showpieces of the artist's genius. An almost complete reversal of Michelangelo's desire to destroy his drawings, hiding his creative genius, was taking place.

The preservation of the drawings in this proposed exhibition is therefore due to the early collectors and their appreciation of these works. Through the centuries each drawing has passed through the hands of various collectors, gradually working its way across the continent to Britain to finally come to rest in Scotland. Sixteenth and seventeenth century drawings are collected and recognised today as they have been through the centuries, reflecting their attractiveness, unquestioned through history unlike painted works of the same period. It is these freely executed drawings which reveal the discovery of the linear and painterly possibilities of drawing. They represent at the same time a continuum and revaluation of the art of drawing as it had developed from the beginning of the Renaissance, both looking back and pointing to the future; rediscovering yet still discovering.

This exhibition thus proposes to show some of the finest and most exciting and individual draughtsmen of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all of whom contributed to the rebirth of drawing in Baroque lines. In each age the art of the past is continually reborn and reinterpreted; the drawings shown here stand outside their temporal prescriptions to ultimately communicate with viewer of today through the universal and timeless language of the art of drawing.

A NOTE ON THE CATALOGUE

A short biography of each artist prefaces the catalogue entry, setting the drawing in its historical and artistic milieu. This also gives a sense of the presence of the individual personality behind each drawing.

Each entry which follows adheres to a conventional format, detailing in order the drawing's title, medium, condition, inscriptions etc. where applicable, and dimensions. Unless otherwise cited the drawings are on white paper. Measurements are in millimetres, height before width. The description "laid down" refers to the drawing having been attached to a new ground.

These details, except sometimes the comments on a drawing's condition, which are my own, are based on the National Gallery catalogues of drawings; Andrews (1968) and Macandrew (ex. cat. 1990). The National Gallery inventory numbers follow the dimensions.

The descriptions of the drawings may seem longer than the average exhibition catalogue entry. I have attempted to set each drawing in a historical and stylistic context, while relating it to any relevant painted works or further drawings. And I have tried to bring each drawing to life, referring to the very way the media touches the ground in forming a visual representation. Behind each stroke I have attempted to see the artist working with the medium as an extension of himself and his imagination.

Finally each entry is concluded with a brief reference to the drawings' provenances and the literature in which they are cited.



FEDERICO BAROCCI (c1535-1612)

Federico Barocci was born, died, and spent most of his life in Urbino, making visits to Rome, Florence, Perugia and Arezzo. His earliest biography is Bellori's (1672) which records his early training in the workshops of his father and Battista Franco³. Influences evident in his work are Correggio, the Venetians, Raphael and others in Rome. Barocci's style thus combined the classicism of the High Renaissance with the colourism and emotion of the North; he was to have a profound effect on the masters of the Baroque such as the Carracci, Guido Reni and Rubens, and can be seen as a linking figure leading to the Baroque.

There are over two thousand extant drawings by Barocci, with the largest collections housed in Florence and Berlin. Barocci was proficient in a wide variety of media, and prolific in the execution of preparatory studies.

1 The Visitation

Pen, brown ink and wash, with white and beige coloured gouache, over black chalk on blue-grey paper. Twice squared in black chalk. Architecture drawn with straight edge and compass; red chalk marking steps.

Pentimenti lines on the profile of the Virgin, painted over with white gouache.

Central crease due to fold, some stained spots upper area.

462 + 316 mm

RSA 216

This drawing is a modello or composition study for the painting of The Visitation in the Oratorian church, the Chiesa Nuova, in Rome, executed from 1583 to 1586. A large number of preparatory studies for this commission have survived, from which it is possible to reconstruct Barocci's working process. First the composition was roughly outlined in several small pen, ink and wash sketches⁴, with separate

³ on Franco see below cat.

⁴ Amsterdam, Rijkmuseum inv. 1964-79; Copenhagen, Statens Museum inv. 7404-5; Paris, Lugt Collection, Institute Neerlandais no. 5483 etc. see A. Emiliani (1985) pp.217-229 and E. P. Pillsbury/L. Richards (1978) cats.48-53

studies of individual figures and draperies in black chalk⁵. He then brought together these studies in the modello, transferring figures from previous studies by incising them with the stylus onto the modello surface, and coordinating them in an architectural setting developed from the first rough sketches. However this drawing does not represent the final synthesis; yet more studies were subsequently executed, working out the details of the handmaid's basket, Zacharias' projecting hand holding the bundle and the heads of the figures, left incomplete in the modello. And even after transferring everything onto the cartoon, fragments of which survive in Florence, Barocci made still further changes to the composition - for example he altered the position of the right foreground figure, the Virgin's handmaid, after drawing the cartoon in further studies - before executing the painting. Thus Barocci can be seen continually revising his ideas throughout the creative process, exploring and experimenting with light, space and form in the graphic medium.

As Barocci's method of working up to the finished painting can be followed, his method of executing an individual drawing such as this can be similarly reconstructed. First he loosely sketched the figures and architecture in black chalk, then drawing the figures in greater detail in pen and ink over the incised stylus lines. The pen lines, at first lighter, then heavier, conceive the figures as three dimensional structures, as the lines suggesting the form of the figures of the Virgin and St. Elizabeth beneath their draperies show. The draperies are rendered with a controlled, angular, almost static line, most apparent in the foreground handmaid. In comparison however, the background figure emerging through the doorway is executed in a much faster, denser style, as in the rough pen sketches Barocci worked as exploratory studies.

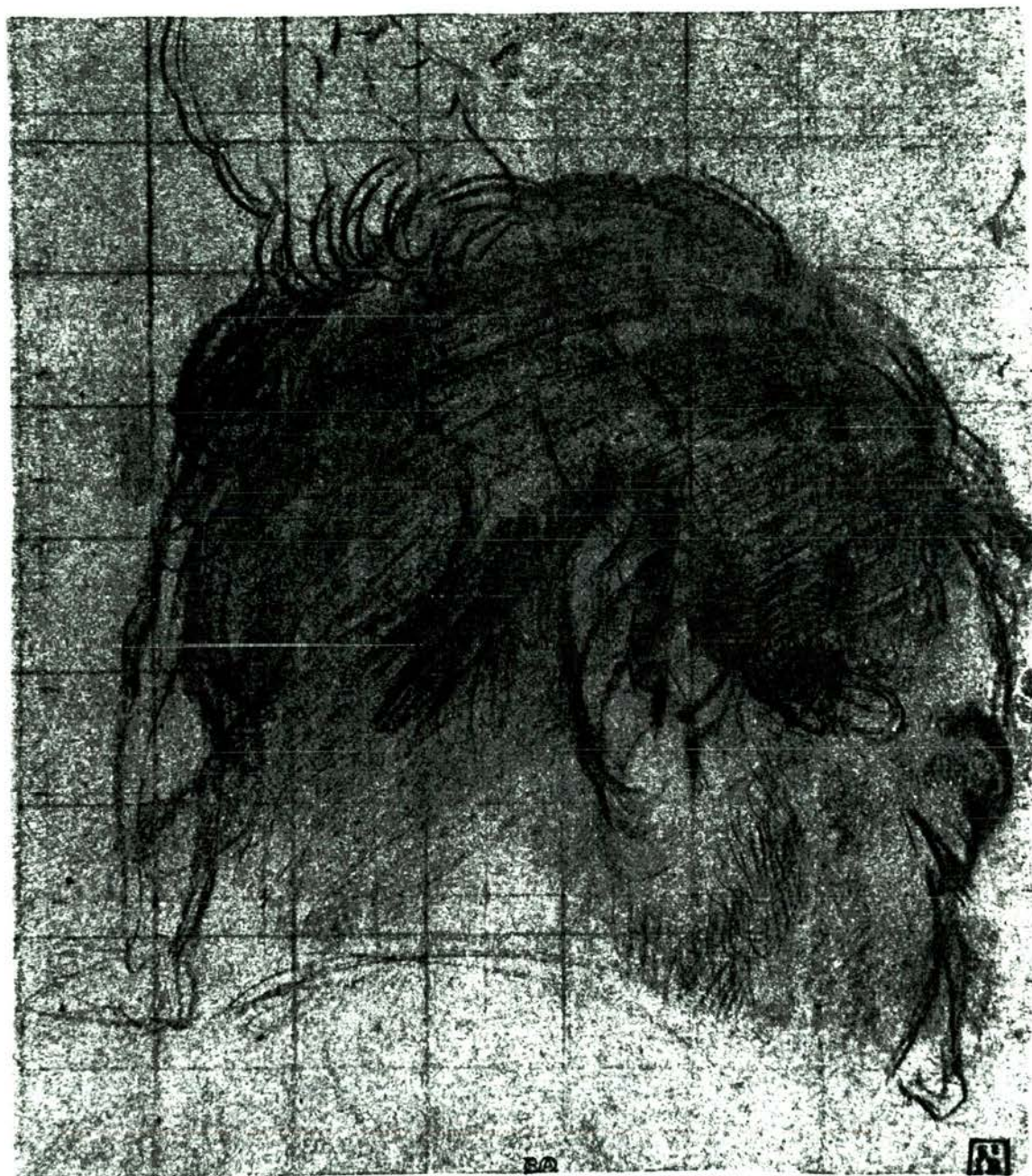
⁵ Chatsworth inv. 918 (recto and verso)

Filling in and further structuralising the figures is a pale grey wash, overlaid in places with a heavier brown wash. This brown wash sweeps across the architecture in a broad, even application, and defines the forms and draperies, with its deepest tone on the foreground figure of Zacharias. Space is thus suggested with the wash deepening towards the foreground and fading into the background. Areas without wash, where the paper is left blank, form a mid tone between wash and highlight, balancing light and shade. Flesh areas, such as St. Elizabeth's arm, are defined by a wash application which suggests the roundness of the form, bringing it from the incised outlines. In other areas a very light greyish wash is broadly applied to areas of flesh and to the details to be later studied.

The highlights are added with white gouache in a thick linear or dry brush application. While creating volume, this white heightening forms the individual figures and unites them in a coherent spatial pattern, as a curving rhythm of light falls over the four central figures. The figure emerging through the doorway on the right is rendered with a paler application of white gouache which pushes her further into space, while at the same time projecting her forward. Meanwhile the stronger patch of light appearing in the doorway behind her forms a structural link with the lower figure of Zacharias, echoed in the diagonal of light stretching across the picture.

PROVENANCE Lawrence ; David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1966.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968, Pillsbury and Richards 1978, Emiliani 1985, Macandrew 1990.



2 Three Quarter View of a Head of a Young Man Inclined Downward to the Right; Outline of a Male Nude Figure

Nude study in black chalk over stylus underdrawing and squared in black chalk.

Head in black and red chalks, with brown and pink pastels, stumped and squared in red chalk. Blue paper.

Pentimenti lines on the nose and ear, in black and red chalk with pink pastel on the ear.

Good condition.

267 + 232 mm

D 1589

The method employed here of working with coloured chalks and pastels on a tinted or coloured ground, in this case blue paper, was a technique favoured by Barocci through the influence of Correggio and the Venetians. Drawings such as this, and the more finished head studies also in the Edinburgh collection⁶, became collectable items during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and remain popular as attractive works of art today.

The head and the nude figure study can both be related to Barocci's painting of The Martyrdom of St. Vitalis (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan) executed about 1580 to 1583 for the church of S. Vitale in Ravenna. The rapidly drawn standing nude figure is roughly outlined in curving black chalk lines, which loosely suggest the figure's musculature as he dramatically leans backwards.

Over this sketch the head study fills the rest of the sheet, executed in a strong, assured hand, in broad strokes of black chalk. These strokes outline the features of the face, suggesting the hair with incisive parallel strokes which curve broadly

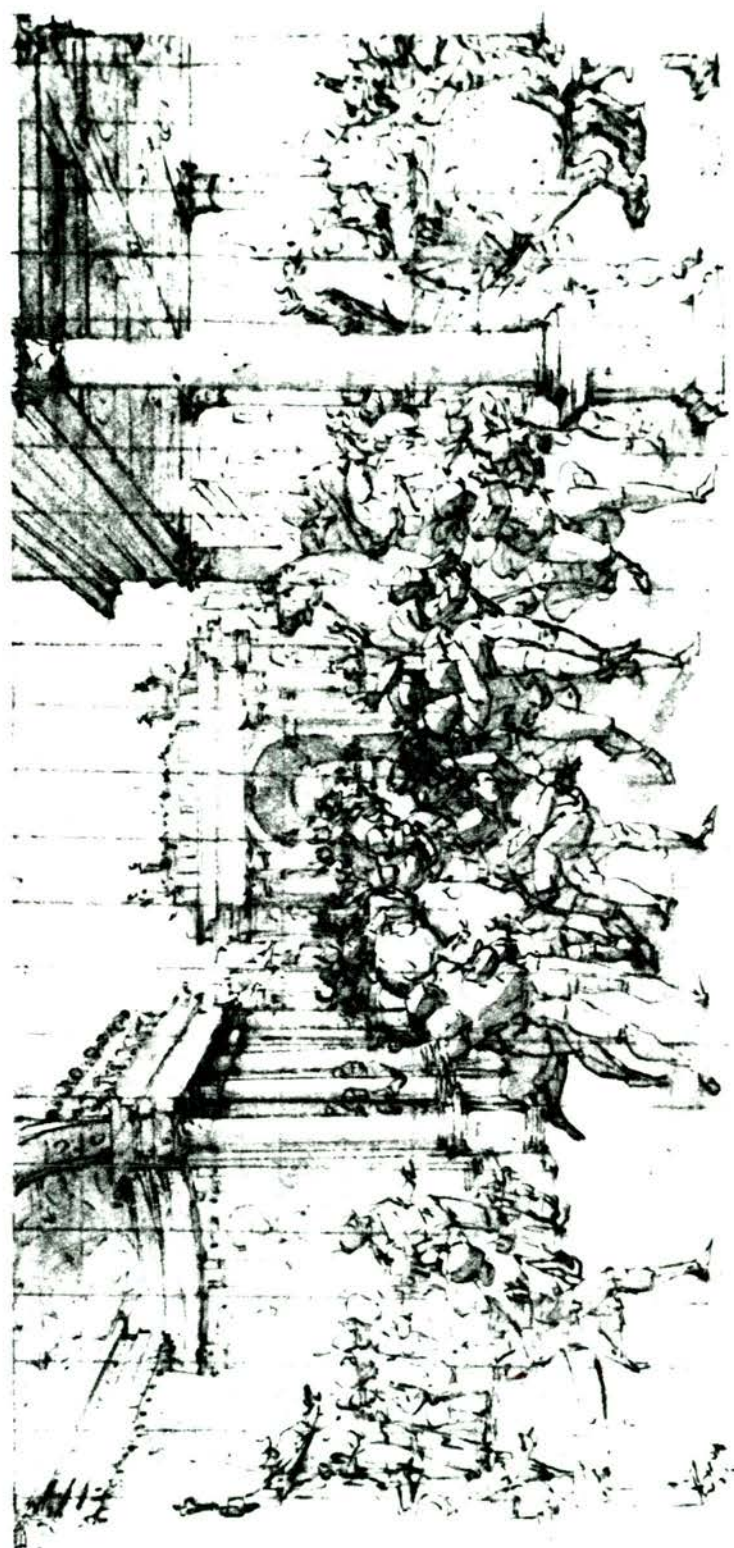
⁶ RSA 611 Head of a Man and D 2250 Head of a Monk

across the form, describing the structure of the head and forming a pattern of soft curls around the edges. Brown pastel, rubbed or stumped into the surface, adds colour and merges the tones, softening the harder black chalk. The technique of stumping involves rubbing the chalk or pastel with a roll of soft paper pointed at each end, which blurs the edges and spreads a warmth of colour, particularly where more than one colour has been used as in this case.

The facial details have also been stumped, mixing black chalk outlines with red chalk and pink pastel, with a delicacy suitable for rendering facial features. Touches of red chalk on the eyelid, eyebrow and nose, and a wash effect of stumped pink pastel applied over the shape of the face, mould the form from the flat blue surface and the black outlines into three dimensionality. The pink and red colours tint the flesh, as the brown pastel tints the hair, not only rendering tonality but also suggesting hue, and creating a drawing in colour which approximates painting; although in comparison to the painted work, the drawing embodies a much greater freedom of execution and expression.

PROVENANCE Richardson, Jr.; Reynolds; David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1910.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968; Pillsbury and Richards 1978; Emiliani 1985; Macandrew 1990.



LUCA CAMBIASO (1527-1585)

Cambiaso was taught by and collaborated with his father in his home town of Genoa. Geographically isolated from the main Italian art centres, the wealthy port of Genoa was consequently separate from mainstream artistic currents, yet an indigenous local style was not developed there until the sixteenth century. The styles prevalent in Genoa were eclectic, based on Roman prototypes and visitors to the city such as Perino del Vaga⁷, there for eight years during Cambiaso's childhood, until Cambiaso led the way in creating the precedent for an independent Genoese style. This style was further continued and developed by his pupils and followers through the later sixteenth and into the seventeenth century, apparent, for example, in the drawing in Edinburgh by Bernardo Strozzi (1581-1644) (fig 1). Cambiaso, most famous for his frescoes, has therefore been considered the most important painter active in the mid-sixteenth century in Genoa up to his departure in 1583 for the Spanish court in Madrid.

3 The Rape of the Sabines

Pen, brown ink and wash, squared in red chalk. Inscribed on mount, "Cangiassi" in the hand of J. Richardson Sr., and on verso of mount in the hand of Esdaile.

192 + 405 mm

D 630

This drawing is a final composition study, squared in red chalk for direct transfer, for the ceiling fresco in the salone of the Villa Imperiale at Terralba near Genoa, executed about 1565⁸. It can be compared to Barocci's study of The Visitation, a composition study at the same stage in the creative process, although Cambiaso's is executed in a very different manner and for a different style of painting.

The architectural backdrop of Cambiaso's study sets a stage before which the dense crowd of figures act out the drama. These figures are however integrated into the

⁷ see below cat 13

⁸ Macandrew (1990) cat. 14.



Fig 1: Bernardo Strozzi
Two Seated Figures
Pen and ink
National Gallery of Scotland

architectural setting, the layout of the scene echoing the structure of the figure composition and the dramatically receding diagonals reflecting the drama of the scene. This emphatic structuralising is reinforced by Cambiaso's assured, angular line, which draws the contours of the figures and reduces forms into simplified shapes, similar to mannequins. With this reductive line, briefly outlining, and with the addition of wash, suggesting volume and light, the drawing reveals the influence of Perino del Vaga or Polidoro da Caravaggio (see below fig 4, 5), although Cambiaso has broken from these precedents with his stricter pen and wash application and greater simplification of forms. His innovative geometric reductions, or so-called "cubist" style⁹, is well known and easily recognisable, and became a shorthand formula copied by his pupils and followers, often less successfully. This geometricisation was possibly influenced by Northern European artistic manuals and their studies in proportion, and in its figural and tectonic representation suggests art of the twentieth century¹⁰.

The addition of a light wash brings a pictorial liveliness to the drawing, with a flickering light and a suggestion of volume. Light also adds drama, for example in the parallel foreground shadows of the four front figures, recalling the parallel perspectival weapons of Uccello's Battle of San Romano (National Gallery, London) and emphasising Cambiaso's interest in tectonic structure.

PROVENANCE Richardson Sr.; George Knapton; Esdaile; Thane; David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1910.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968; Macandrew 1990.

⁹ *ibid*

¹⁰ D. Petherbridge (exh. cat. 1991) pp.58/59 compares Cambiaso and David Bomberg.



PIETRO TESTA (1612-1650)

According to one of his biographers, Giovanni Passeri (1679), Testa was known to his contemporaries as "the little Lucchese, exquisite draughtsman"¹¹. Failing to gain success as a painter, Testa's reputation lies with his graphic works. Born in Lucca, he went to Rome in the late 1520s, where he worked in the studios of Domenichino and Pietro da Cortona and became involved with a group of intellectual artists led by Poussin. Testa's ideas on art are revealed in his Notebooks, which he intended to be a Treatise on painting, and in allegorical etchings such as An Allegory of Painting and Il Liceo della Pittura, (The School of Painting), both in the Edinburgh collection¹². These etchings emphasise a theoretical and practical grounding as equally important to artistic practice. Drawing was recognised by Testa as the practical foundation of art, through which the artist learns his skill and from which all finished works evolve. A lonely, antisocial and melancholy figure, Testa's esoteric images were rarely worked to commission; he died by drowning in the Tiber, probably through suicide.

4 Study for "An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents"

Pen and brown ink over red chalk on cream paper. Verso further studies of the same, some traced through from recto. Lower edge tear repaired.

254 + 368 mm

D 4993

5 Study for "An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents"

Pen and brown ink over black and red chalk on cream paper. Verso same.

189 + 301 mm

D 4994

These studies refer to Testa's painting of An Allegory of the Massacre of the Innocents in Rome (Galleria Spada), executed around 1640¹³. Both studies are different in concept to the painting, which shows a small central group of a mother

¹¹ E. Cropper (1988 exh. cat.) p.xv

¹² National Gallery of Scotland P 2781/27 and P 2781/32

¹³ Cropper (1988) cats.50, 51, 52 c1639-42



and child and a single executioner, against a background of a weeping figure in shadowy architecture and a brightly lit landscape to the right. The drawn studies are influenced by Raphael's version of the Massacre, engraved by Marcantonio Raimondi (Albertina, Vienna), which shows figures spread across a foreground stage against an architectural backdrop. In the second Edinburgh study Testa begins to break from Raphael's prototype, placing fewer figures at the front of the picture plane and with the architectural backdrop diagonally receding, moving the composition closer to the painting - which is similar to Poussin's painting of the same of the 1620s (Musee Conde, Chantilly). Motifs from both studies, such as the executioner on the left of the first study, traced through to the verso, and the mother clutching her dead child, are repeated in both drawings and appear in the painting, showing Testa's use of the drawings in working his ideas into the final composition.

The first study (D 4993 (1)) is drawn in heavy red chalk and then ink lines, in a strong, brisk style, rapidly suggesting form, space and movement. The pen lines define the foreground figures in heavy, angular outlines drawn with a thick nib rich with ink. The figures' draperies and anatomies are described in abbreviated form with little modelling and few hatching lines, the only shading being the red chalk under-drawing. The strong angular lines create a dramatic effect and emphasise the violence of the scene, exaggerating the figures' gestures and the rhythm of their interaction as it moves across the page. Testa is here experimenting with the basic forms of the figures of the composition against the background architecture, shown by the inserted study of the foreshortened child.

In the second study (D 4994 (2)) the chalk and ink lines are lighter and the pen line finer and sharper, incising the surface in angular outlines and short hatching strokes. The figures are drawn in more detail than the previous study, with hatched shading and greater precision in representing the features of the protagonists' faces.

But the figures and architecture are again abbreviated, drawn in angular strokes, the faces abstracted into screaming open mouths. Thus the very noise of the violence of the scene is suggested, as Testa dramatically evokes the horror and pathos of the event.

PROVENANCE (1) Baron Milford; H. M. Calmann, aquired by Paul Oppe 1943; Armide Oppe; purchased by the National Gallery with support from the National Art-Collections Fund 1973.

LITERATURE (1) Royal Academy of Arts 1958; National Gallery of Canada 1961; Hartmann 1970; Brigstocke 1974 and 1976; Cropper 1988.

PROVENANCE (2) H. M. Calmann, aquired by Paul Oppe 1954; Armide Oppe; purchased by the National Gallery with support from the National Art-Collections Fund 1973.

LITERATURE (2) Hartmann 1970; Brigstocke 1974 and 1976; Cropper 1988.



6 Study of the Holy Family with the Infant St. John and Vision of the Holy Cross.

Pen and brown ink. Verso reduced studies of the same - ink from verso showing through to recto centre left. Inscribed "testa" on the recto.

258 + 206 mm

D 5000

This study is related to the etching of The Dream of Joseph (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). Although not a direct preparatory study but a detail of the larger etching composition, it differs from the etching in a similar way as the studies for the Massacre of the Innocents differ from the finished painting¹⁴. The composition is structured with a diagonal thrust from the lower left open space to the upper right crowded area of the heavenly vision, with the dense packing of the putti and the cross and clouds in the upper right area extending beyond the picture plane and suggesting the infinite space evoked in Baroque art.

The drawing is executed with an even pen line, similar to the etching needle in its controlled balance. Contours are formed with short, slightly curving strokes which steadily outline the figures. The Holy Family is described in an open line, with an angularity in the rendering of the draperies; while the putti are rendered in a closer line which becomes a repeated pattern of short curving pen strokes, abstracting and abbreviating the forms. Above the centre a mass of clouds are broadly drawn and roughly hatched in strong, cursive diagonals, suggesting shadow and colour and recalling Testa's methods of 'colouring' prints with areas of vigorous open hatching.

¹⁴ *ibid* cat.30

PROVENANCE Jean Denis Lempereur; Count Moritz von Fries; Marquis de Lagoy; Paul Oppe; Armide Oppe; purchased by the National Gallery with support from the National Art-Collections Fund 1973.

LITERATURE Harmann 1970; Brigstocke 1974 and 1978; Cropper 1988.



FEDERICO ZUCCARO (C1540-1609)

Federico, the younger brother of Taddeo, came to Rome in 1550, where he was taken under his brother's wing, learning from and collaborating with him, and after his death completing commissions left unfinished by him. Unlike Taddeo, Federico was as much a gentleman or diplomat as an artist, travelling as far as the Netherlands, England and Spain as well as within Italy. His style was consequently international, based on Taddeo's, but, as a less innovative or gifted artist, developing into a formulaic repetition of the later Maniera style.

7 Landscape: View from the Terrace of the Monastery at Vallombrosa with Florence in the Background.

Black and red chalks. Inscribed in three different hands: 'a', bottom left; '8', lower left; '125', lower right corner. Central crease; some discolouration.

253 + 410 mm

D 4895

This drawing has been dated from its recognisable view, referred to in the title, to 1576 or 1577, and in relation to a group of drawings also from the Monastery at Vallombrosa, which may have formed a small sketch book, of which four drawings are dated 1576 and 1577¹⁵.

The black chalk is applied with a slight heaviness and hesitancy, the lines lacking the lighter freedom and fluidity of the pen lines of, for example, Annibale's later Landscape below. However, as in Annibale's drawing, space is suggested by the varying weight of the chalk line, stronger and sharper in the foreground and softer and lighter in the background. Spatial recession and atmosphere is thus established, the landscape paling with a lighter line into the hazy distance.

¹⁵ see Macandrew (1990) cat. 15

The construction of the scene emphasises this recession, the strong, tree-lined diagonal of the mid-distance hill balanced by the contrasting horizontals of the hills to the right, the shading of the trees, and the foreground parapet and figure. This figure sits rather awkwardly and the parapet is at an unclear angle, but adds interest and further spaces the scene. The trees are coloured by a regular horizontal hatching, creating a pattern which again structures while suggesting light.

Small touches of red chalk are scattered throughout, tinting the foreground figure's flesh and shading the parapet, describing the building and road on the lower left and the shadows of the trees in the fields, and shading with a light touch into the distance on the right. Although not integrated into the black chalk but applied in disjointed areas, this use of the red chalk brings a colour and warmth, suggesting the poetry of the landscape described. Thus despite a somewhat clumsy drawing style, lacking vigour or vibrancy, a warmth of atmosphere and suggestion of light is evoked.

PROVENANCE Everhard Jabach; Pierre Crozat; H. M. Calman, purchased by the National Gallery 1965.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968; Macandrew 1990.



ANNIBALE CARRACCI (1560-1609)

The three Carracci, Ludovico and his two younger cousins Agostino and Annibale, were the founders of the Baroque style developed in the seventeenth century. They ran a busy and successful workshop in Bologna, and in 1582 established a teaching Academy, to which several of the major artists of the seventeenth century adhered. The most important of the three was Annibale, whose style was the pivotal turning point from which subsequent art evolved. Annibale's greatest achievement was the ceiling of the Galleria Farnese in Rome; he moved from Bologna to Rome in 1595 to undertake this commission, and remained there until his death. As his early training took place in Bologna he assimilated local Emilian styles and the styles of Lombardy and Venice, and in Rome he recreated these under the influence of Michelangelo, Raphael and antique art.

All three Carracci were prolific draughtsmen, acknowledging drawing as an important part both of training and the preparatory process leading to the painted work. The Carracci Academy placed a strong emphasis on the practice of drawing, and most particularly on drawing from life. This was important, much as with Leonardo, as part of the exploratory process of observation to be undertaken by the artist. Furthermore, evidence of the importance of drawing for the Carracci is the large number of drawings which have survived through various collections.

8 River Landscape with Boats, One Capsized, with a Tower Like Building in the Background

Pen and brown ink. Good condition.

199 +300 mm

D 1714

Although not prolific in landscape painting, Annibale's contribution to the genre, undeveloped except in Venice, was to have a profound effect on the landscapists of the seventeenth century such as Domenichino, Poussin and Claude. Annibale achieved some proficiency in the genre whilst in Rome, depicting peaceful, luminous and structured landscape settings containing religious or mythological

events. However, landscape drawings such as this one have no specific meaning, and were probably not drawn from nature but in the studio. The capsizing boat moreover suggests an element of comedy, recalling Annibale's earlier genre scenes, and a playfulness, as in his painting, Landscape with a River Scene (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museum), executed while still in Bologna.

Annibale's method of structuring the landscape in this drawing is conventional and recalls his painted compositions and the prototypes he worked from; Venetian, Flemish and, for example, Niccolo del'Abbate (c1512-1571) in Bologna (Palazzo Poggi). He builds the landscape through receding zig-zagging intervals, moving from left to right, and emphasised by the wide expanse of river.

A controlled, but flexible line spaces the scene, the strong curving strokes detailing the grasses of the foreground bank, echoed on the opposite bank by the lines of trees and bushes and lighter lines of the far distance, becoming more sparse towards the horizon. The river is defined by a horizontal patterning suggesting both light and movement, as the line throughout suggests the movement of the very air over the landscape. Atmospheric space is thus evoked by the varying pressure of the pen line. As space recedes the trees are represented yet more succinctly, in the distance briefly represented by a vertical stroke with a squiggled top and loose horizontal hatching; a patterned form of interacting verticals and horizontals. The man-made structures intrude into the natural scene with a strong emphatic line; the tower building resembling the more prominent structure in the later Landscape with Flight into Egypt (Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili). With the boats, a narrative interest is brought to the scene; balanced with this interest, however, is Annibale's over-riding sense of form, structure and light. Light is suggested by the hatching lines and the varying depths of the pen pressure, showing a preoccupation more apparent in his painted landscapes, which glow with luminous, flickering highlights.

PROVENANCE David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1910.

LITERATURE Catalogue, National Gallery of Scotland 1946; Colnaghi 1966.



AGOSTINO CARRACCI (1557-1602)

Agostino was the younger brother of Annibale, and trained like him in the workshop of their older cousin Ludovico. Agostino collaborated with Annibale on various projects, both in Bologna and in Rome in the Galleria Farnese. Agostino was however essentially an engraver; a prolific draughtsman and engraver he evolved a harder, more metallic style as the etching technique demanded, which differs from the style of Annibale.

9 Head of a Bearded Man, Looking Up

Pen and brown ink.

136 + 109

RSA 152

Like Annibale's, the line here is even and precise, although with something of the static precision of the etched line. There are some pentimenti lines around the ear, but for the most part the head is drawn with a controlled clarity. Light is suggested by the varying weight of the line, forming the head into a volumetric shape. The profile is heavily drawn, emphasising the most important point of interest. This is balanced by the curving hair lines, the lighter and more open diagonal hatching behind the head, and the brief outlines of the shoulder draperies to the right. Space is thus established, and further suggested by the areas of blank ground which contrast with the deep pen lines, highlighting and bringing drama and volume to the head. This shows Agostino's awareness not only of the marks of the pen, but also of the very ground on which he seems to carve his design.

Agostino was most prolific in pen and ink drawings, sometimes repeating the same detail a number of times on the same sheet with a searching intensity, echoed in the very taughtness of his line (fig 2). This line scratches the surface, almost carving the curls of hair in a rhythmic sculptural pattern. The eyes seem as if dug from the



Fig 2: Agostino Carracci
Studies, Mainly of Feet
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

ground; the emphatic ink lines recall the effect of wash, suggesting a colouristic depth and expressiveness not unlike Guercino's scratching line in his drawing of Neptune, or even Mola's dramatic wash effects. The drawings of Guercino and Mola are moreover direct descendants of the caricature-type drawing, its creation attributed to the Carracci at the end of the sixteenth century. Agostino's drawings such as this one and his sheets of repeated studies, although not caricatures, show tendencies towards them with a linear taughtness and visual abbreviation¹⁶.

PROVENANCE David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1966.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968.

¹⁶ see D. Posner Annibale Carracci etc. (1971) pp.65-70 and E. Gombrich (1960) pp.279-303, both of whom state the Carracci precedent in caricature drawing, claimed from Malvasia on, stemming from their interest in genre painting, representations of the comic and grotesque in art and literature - seen in the drawings of Leonardo, the paintings of Passeri and Campi and the poetry of Berni etc - and their analytical and intellectual approach to art. See also below, Guercino cat.18 and Mola cat.19



LUDOVICO CARRACCI (1555-1619)

Ludovico collaborated with his two younger cousins on various projects in Bologna prior to their departure for Rome. He then continued to run the Carracci Academy, remaining in Bologna until his death. His work and influence have been overlooked in the shadow of Annibale's, but should be recognised as also integral to the development of the Baroque style. In contrast to Annibale's classicism, Ludovico's style has been critically daubed late mannerist since the seventeenth century - except by his Bolognese supporter and biographer Malvasia (1678) - and not acknowledged for its important contribution to the development of Emilian art.

CIRCLE OF LUDOVICO CARRACCI

11 St. Paul Being Carried to the Third Heaven

Red chalk and white heightening. Inscribed on the mount "Lanfranco". Laid down.

260 + 220 mm

D 1197

This drawing was ascribed by Andrews (1968) to Ludovico or, most likely, his workshop, against an earlier attribution to Lanfranco¹⁷. The earlier attribution, however, suggests a similarity to later seventeenth century works and thus establishes Ludovico and his workshop as precursors of the later style. The drawing is related to a painted commission and to a drawing in the collection at Windsor, although the Windsor drawing is less dramatic¹⁸. In manner of execution and subject it is similar to the earlier Venetian drawing by Battista Franco representing God the Father.

¹⁷ inscribed by Richardson Snr. (see Provenance), Andrews (1968)

¹⁸ R. Wittkower (1952) cat.47

The drawing is executed in red chalk, a favourite medium of the Carracci. The chalk first lightly sketches the contours, then adds further definition and shading with a thicker, heavier line and areas of stumping, softening the lines and blurring the shadows into the outlines. Pentimenti lines are apparent on the right edge, depicting an unfinished angel, rubbed with the stump into a shadowy mass, while the remaining completed angel on the right of the Saint is still confused in outline and lacking clarity in execution. At the same time, this same mass of chalk lines creates a sense of movement, pushing the figures upwards in a swirling, circular motion, moving from the thrust of the leg of the lowest angel into the circle of the upper heavenly realm, its shape echoed by the swirl of St. Paul's draperies. This almost violent, rapid movement reflects Franco's earlier drawing and other Venetian prototypes, while anticipating the greater violence and intensity of later Baroque works.

White heightening defines the forms, emphasising their muscular anatomies while covering pentimenti lines and pulling the figures out of the mass of chalk lines. It also highlights the figures, balanced with the area of blank ground in the upper heavenly area, the realm of pure light. Adding a sense of decoration, which with the swirling red chalk lines produces an effect similar to wash, this recalls the less dramatic drawing of the Two Standing Angels below and Ludovico's painted works.

PROVENANCE Jonathon Richardson Snr.; Lord Elgin, sold Edinburgh 1833; David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1910.
LITERATURE Andrews 1968



10 Two Standing Angels

Pen, brown ink and grey wash. Sheet cut to present size. Some spots staining and paper slightly crumpled.

205 + 113 mm

D 4873

This drawing is a preparatory study for the painting The Dream of Jacob, executed from 1605 to 1608 and now in the Pinacoteca in Bologna. A heavier pen and ink composition study is in the Royal Collection at Windsor¹⁹. The poses of the figures in the final painting differ from the earlier drawings.

The angels are elegantly drawn in a fine, delicately curving and flowing line, a line practised and perfected in the light scribbles seen around the sheet. This dancing line forms an abstract pattern of draperies, wings and limbs, uniting the figures in a decorative composition. Their flowing inter-relation, in outline and light wash, recalls the abstract forms of scroll decorations or Ionic capitals, and shows Ludovico's interest in forming a pictorial design and not merely a functional composition study, as is the Windsor drawing. This drawing perhaps therefore explains his supposed alliance to the rhetorical and decorative style of the Maniera.

Both contained by and outside the outline, grey wash lights the figures with a silvery colour, so lightly applied that it is broken by the grain of the paper to produce a shimmering, effervescent effect. This wash also describes the structure, as in the legs of the right angel, where no outline is marked but one leg exists purely in wash. A single sweeping brush stroke briefly describes the forms, coming to a point at the ankle, thus suggesting the structure of the calf, but at the same time abstracting the shape into a simplified form. This abstraction emphasises the sense of decoration and sensuality, yet the flowing line and delicate wash also

¹⁹ R. Wittkower (1952) cat.19, and G. Feiginbaum (1984) cat.119

suggest movement and light, and relate the drawing to the seventeenth century Baroque style.

PROVENANCE W. R. Jeudwine; purchased by the National Gallery 1962.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968



BATTISTA FRANCO (c1510-1561)

Known as "Il Semolei", or "freckle-face", Battista Franco has been called "the prodigal son of Venetian art"²⁰. Born in Venice, he left for Rome at about the age of twenty to spend most of his career there and in Florence and Urbino - which explains his inclusion in this exhibition - only returning to Venice in the 1550s. The main source of information on Franco's life is Vasari, who records his greater proficiency in drawing, engraving and designing decorative schemes and majolica than in painting.

12 God the Father

Black and red chalk, with white heightening (partly oxidised) on blue paper. Inscription on back of mount by Richardson (transcribed Andrews 1968). Crease right edge.

292 + 242 mm

D 1590

This is a study for the figure of God at the upper edge of the painting of the Baptism in the Barbaro Chapel, Venice, painted on Franco's return around 1553 to 1554. A study for the lower figures of the painting is also in the Edinburgh collection (fig 3)²¹.

Franco's use of black and red chalks on a blue ground is typically Venetian, showing a change of mood on return to his native city, although he applies them in the strong linear style of Rome and Florence. Black chalk outlines and hatches, as does the ink in his pen drawings, here creating a dynamic diagonal thrust through the hatching lines which descend from the right and across the figure, simplifying the form. The lower areas of the figure are tightly drawn with a controlled line, the

²⁰ W. R. Rearick (1959) p.107

²¹ *ibid* mentions only the study of the lower figures of the painting - D 1591 - not this drawing.

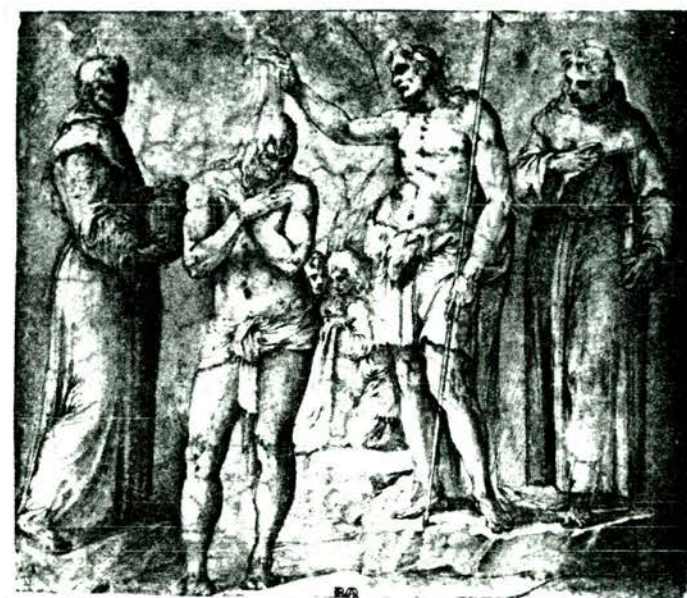


Fig 3: Battista Franco
The Baptism of Christ
Pen, brown ink and wash
National Gallery of Scotland

upper areas more loosely rendered, in a freer, although still incisive, execution. In comparison to the black, red chalk is applied in a more painterly manner, shaping the upper part of the figure, and suggesting volume and a soft warm colour.

White heightening balances with the red chalk's suggestion of colour, highlighting the left knee and draperies. This highlighting also emphasises the figure as a sculptural mass, pulling it from the heavy black lines on the right, which project the figure forwards into the spectator's space with a dramatic movement. Such drama and colour were to influence sixteenth century artists such as Federico Barocci, who was inspired by the warmer colours of Venice in both his drawings and his paintings²².

PROVENANCE J. Richardson Snr.; Reynolds; Lawrence; David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1910.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968; Macandrew 1990.

²² see above cat.2, executed on blue paper with coloured chalks.



TADDEO ZUCCARO (1529-1566)

Taddeo's short career - only eighteen years - was recorded just two years after his death in the 1568 edition of Vasari's Lives. Born in S. Angelo in Vado in the Marches, Taddeo went to Rome in about 1543 to spend the rest of his life there. Little remains of his early career as a great number of his early works were exterior facade paintings which have inevitably disappeared. Consequently Taddeo's drawings are of great importance in establishing the development of his style. However, few autograph drawings survive and there are constant problems in attributing drawings to Taddeo: he evolved a style which formed the basis of the late Maniera style, and was closely followed by his brother, Federico, and others with whom Taddeo's drawings are often confused. Taddeo was influenced by his contemporaries Polidoro da Caravaggio (c1496-1543), a prolific facade painter in Rome, and Perino del Vaga (1501-1547)²³, whose pen and wash styles are apparent in Taddeo's drawings; further sources were also his immediate predecessors of the High Renaissance.

13 Studies of a Reclining Male and Female Figures; a Seated Female in Profile, with a Further Study of her Left Foot.

Pen, brown ink and wash, over red chalk. Inscription at top, partly cut off, "del Zuccaro feder(ico)". Laid down.

237 + 199 mm

D 3130

Andrews (1968) accepts the attribution of Taddeo rather than the earlier one of Federico on the inscription. Mundy suggests a dating of about 1550, relating the drawing to another pen and wash over chalk study of reclining figures, probably for a facade decoration²⁴. This drawing was most likely a study for a sopraporta or exterior facade painting, the angle of the reclining figures and the shallow space, barely suggested, recalling such paintings.

²³ c.f. Andrews (1968) D 906 and D 645 (del Vaga), D 3020 (Polidoro).

²⁴ E. J. Mundy (1989) cat.3



Fig 4: Perino del Vaga (Circle)
Design for a Mural Decoration
 Pen, brown ink and wash over black chalk
 National Gallery of Scotland

Fig 5: Polidoro da Caravaggio
Draped Forward Striding Figure
 Pen, brown ink and wash
 National Gallery of Scotland

Although similarities are apparent in his use of a sweeping pen line and heavy wash and the styles of Polidoro da Caravaggio or Perino del Vaga (fig 4, 5), Taddeo evolved an idiosyncratic style which developed to his later drawings of figures formed from an obsessive wiry, scribbling line²⁵. The line in this earlier drawing is fluid and rapid, precursing the later style, the pen pressure even and controlled throughout and with a slight angularity structuralising the forms. The style is calligraphic rather than painterly, although in a different sense from, for example, Guercino's calligraphic line, seen in the Neptune drawing above. Taddeo's line is heavier, more angular and less dramatic than Guercino's, here showing similarities to Polidoro's linear scrolls and carrying some suggestions of his later more agitated line. In comparison to Guercino, Taddeo can thus be seen developing the style of the Maniera.

A full, rich wash is added to the pen line, structuring the torso of the upper male in quick, horizontal dashes, while building the lower female in a more languid, watery application, thus exploiting variations of the expressive qualities of the medium to suit the figural representation. Behind the male figure a heavy, deep wash outlines part of a second female form, briefly suggesting her shape in single dramatic brush strokes. While building the forms, wash simultaneously creates a pattern through simplifying and abstracting their shapes. Meanwhile the very strength of this wash contrasts with the light ground to suggesting strong light, and so presents the figures as abbreviated patterns, yet sculptural forms in shallow relief.

PROVENANCE W. F. Watson bequest 1881.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968.

²⁵ c.f. Andrews (1968) D 1540 and J. A. Gere (1969) cat. 28.



ROSSO FIORENTINO (1494-1540)

According to Vasari, the principal source of information on Rosso's life, the fame of Rosso's drawings had preceded him to Rome by the time he arrived there in 1524. Giovanni Battista di Jacopo, called "Rosso" after his red hair, was employed with Pontormo (Jacopo Carucci, 1494-1557) in the studio of Andrea del Sarto in Florence up to his departure for Rome. There he was influenced by Michelangelo and Raphael; he left during the Sack of 1527, and in 1530 moved to the French court where he remained until his death.

14 Seated Female Nude with Raised Arms.

Red chalk. Small holes at edges - filled. Slight staining. Lower right corner study of hand; left margin outline of right breast and arm of figure.

314 + 178 mm

D 4870

This drawing is a study of Eve in the frescoed lunette of The Fall of Adam and Eve in the Cesi Chapel, Santa Maria della Pace, Rome. The painting is one of two lunettes depicting The Creation of Eve and The Fall, both dated 1524. Vasari saw the completed paintings as a poor pastiche of the work of Michelangelo and Raphael, under whose influence Rosso had already come although at that date shortly arrived in Rome; the composition of The Fall is in fact a reversal of Michelangelo's of the same subject in the Sistine Chapel.

Few drawings by Rosso have survived, and there are only three extant drawings which can be related to a painted commission²⁶. This drawing of Eve, which only came to light recently, is therefore of prime importance. Vasari stated that barely a day passed when Rosso did not draw from the nude model; a claim which seems to

²⁶ E. A. Carroll (1976) p.169 lists the two other extant drawings related to a painted commission; a study of St. Sebastian in the Dei Altarpiece (Uffizi) and of Christ in the Pieta at Borgo Sansepolcro (Albertina).

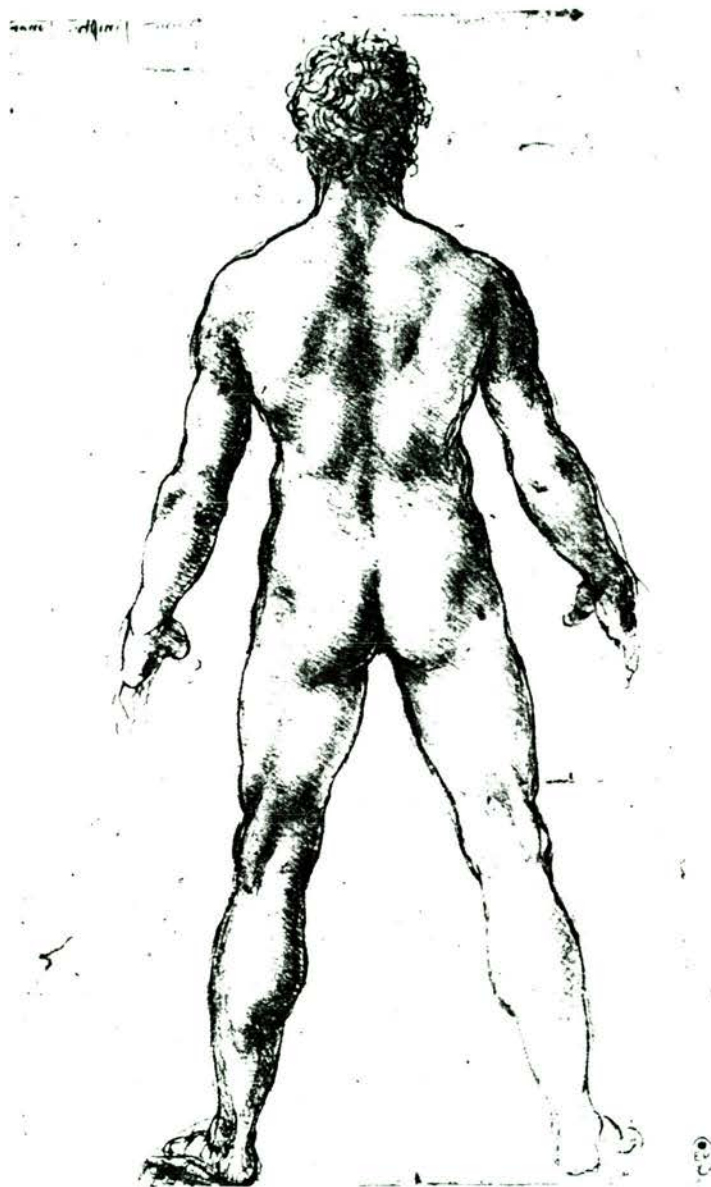


Fig 6: Leonardo da Vinci
Nude Figure of a Man, Rear View, Standing Legs Apart
Red chalk
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

be enforced by an inventory of 1529 of Rosso's belongings which mentions twenty-nine nude studies out of a total of forty-one listed drawings. However, the figure drawn here is not anatomically accurate, showing a direct influence of Michelangelo with its massive, unfeminine form, as well as a grace evoking Raphael's and a similarity to Pontormo's figures (fig 6, 7)²⁷.

In his Life of Rosso, Vasari also referred to his drawing style, saying that "most divinely and with great clarity and precision he drew"²⁸. This drawing is a fine example of Rosso's earlier style, executed in red chalk with a controlled precision. The figure is outlined with a slow line, for the most part evenly applied although with some variations in its strength. Long, strong lines sweep down the back and calf, structuring the figure. Just apparent beneath this line, shorter, quicker strokes lightly place the outlines, then gone over with the stronger line. The variations of the strength of the outlines were further emphasised by the hatched shading, with areas of controlled parallel and cross-hatched lines shaping the upper area, bending round the forms of the stomach and breasts, while on the lower area more broadly applied. A delicate mesh of lines is created, producing an effect of flickering light which moves across the figure and defines the form in luminously patterned gradations of light. However, the controlled drawing style also immobilises the figure, the hatching lines, like Michelangelo's, evoking chiselled marble;

²⁷ c.f. Andrews (1968) and Macandrew (1990) cat.7 Pontormo (D 1612) Young Man Holding a Small Child, black chalk, and cat.5 Raphael (D 5145) Kneeling Female Nude, red chalk; also Michelangelo and Leonardo studies of nudes. Whether these figures were drawn from life is questionable, for example C. Goldstein (1988) Ch.4 claims that few of the studies by the Carracci - and he assumes similarly by other artists - supposed to be life studies actually are. Although this seems to go against the grain of the emphasis laid on drawing from life by Alberti, Leonardo, Vasari and so on, drawings such as this by Rosso appear to uphold Goldstein's argument. At the very onset of the sixteenth century, Rosso can be seen working in the style of the High Renaissance masters, and towards the style of the Maniera; not drawing from life but from the imagination. On the other hand, Carroll (1987) cat.3 claims the figure is a realistic life study, less idealized than the National Gallery drawing, but it is drawn in the same sculptural style. More importantly, the drawing of nude females from life was especially rare until quite recently.

²⁸ Vasari (1568) in E. A. Carroll (ex. cat. 1987) p.9



Fig 7: Michelangelo
Study of a Male Nude
Pen and ink and white heightening
Casa Buonarroti, Florence

...the finely hatched shadows, which suggest the dry
chiselled surface of an unpolished piece of marble... ²⁹

The way the light flickers through this hatching also furthers the suggestion of sculpture, emphasised by the softened, rubbed outlines of the facial features and the hair. Rosso however seems to be more concerned with surface representation than the psychological state of the fallen Eve, or even of showing her as a physical fleshed mass: he thus departs from the ideals of the Renaissance, making use of the styles developed in the High Renaissance to presage the style of the Maniera.

PROVENANCE Purchased (H. M. Calman) 1962.

LITERATURE Hirst 1967; Andrews 1968; Carroll 1987.

²⁹ E. A. Carroll (1961) p.449.



FRANCESCO MONTELATICI (CECCO BRAVO)

(1601-1661)

The little known artist Cecco Bravo, or Montelatici, was born and spent most of his life in Florence. His most important works were executed there in the Palazzo Pitti (Sala degli Argenti, formerly Salone Terreno). He also travelled within Italy, probably going to Venice between 1630 to 1634, until in 1660 he went to Innsbruck to work for the Archduke of Austria. Montelatici's style has a certain eccentricity, again typical of the greater individuality displayed by artists in the seventeenth century, and is particularly characteristic of Florentine Baroque art³⁰. His individuality is most apparent in his drawings; he was proficient and imaginative in his use of the graphic medium, of which however only a small proportion have survived.

15 An Angel Striding to the Left, Looking Downwards.

Red chalk. Inscribed by Baldinucci in ink, top left corner "79". Some slight staining; laid down.

400 + 278 mm

D 1695

This drawing is one of a group of seventeen such studies in the National Gallery collection. The drawings were attributed to Montelatici by Pouncey, with a similar group of thirteen drawings in the Louvre. They were most likely connected with the fresco of St. Michael and the Fall of the Rebel Angels (1652-1653), formerly in the church of SS Michele e Gaetano in Florence (destroyed by fire in 1824). The inscribed numbers on the Edinburgh and Louvre drawings were possibly executed by Filippo Baldinucci; it has thus been suggested that the drawings were contained

³⁰ c.f. Macandrew (1990) p.68 "With Giovanni di San Giovanni, Cecco Bravo represents the eccentric and extravagant element that is a distinctive feature of Florentine Baroque painting"; and M. Campbell (1977) who describes the local Florentine style of Montelatici and others as embodied with "a freshness, a gaiety, a love of rural settings and intimate narrative..."(p.168) of which Montelatici's was the more "brilliant but capricious"(p.61).

in albums belonging to Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, as part of the collection supervised by Baldinucci³¹.

In condition and execution this drawing is one of the better of the Edinburgh group. Executed rapidly in light feathery strokes, the red chalk application suggests an airiness and emphasises the figure's dancing movement. Drawing from his imagination, Montelatici is not concerned with formal detail, but in representing a mobile, floating figure almost as a phantom; thus it lacks anatomical accuracy and correct proportion. The red chalk lightly touches the surface, building the contours with several layers of quick, short strokes, delineated in places with sharper, incising lines. These deeper, angular dashes mark areas such as the right arm and left knee, bringing the figure out of the picture space and towards the spectator: concentrated on the left side of the figure they also create a structural axis on which the movement of the figure rests. Comparing this study with Rosso Fiorentino's nude³², also executed in red chalk, reveals the vastly different uses of the media and figural conceptions the two artists exploit to full effect. Rosso's slow and evenly controlled line carefully outlines and hatches his static, sculptural nude; in comparison Montelatici's line is light and painterly, quickly describing contour and loosely suggesting three-dimensional structure with rough areas of brief hatching and stumping. Consequently Montelatici's style has a freedom and dramatic vivacity symptomatic of the different artistic atmosphere of the seventeenth century and more akin to the drawings of Rosa and Mola³³.

Broadly drawn and widely spaced open diagonals sweep across the background, contrasting with the shorter strokes outlining the figure. These strokes establish depth while flattening the space containing the figure and, at the same time,

³¹ see above Baldinucci and Leopoldo Medici, and Andrews (1968), F. Viatte and C. Monbeig-Goguel (1981) cat.81 and Macandrew (1990) cat.24

³² see above cat 14

³³ see below cat 20/22



Fig 8: Parri Spinelli
Foreshortened Male Nude
Pen and ink
Uffizi Collection

emphasising his movement. The figure's open gestures move from the lighter right to the shaded left area, while the very nature of the line itself, dancing across the surface and drawing the figure from the shadowy background, further realises this movement. Thus the red chalk lines create an almost obsessive pattern of line and movement, both denying and defining contour, recalling the earlier drawings of Parri Spinelli (c1387-1453) (fig 8). Although executed in the sharper medium of pen and ink, Spinelli's highly personal style shows a similar linear excitement and concern with dramatic movement. With the softer medium of red chalk, Montelatici creates a figure floating across the surface and emerging from the lightly shaded background as it emerges from his imagination. An almost surreal image, the idiosyncratic drawing style and the element of fantasy seems to precurse late nineteenth and twentieth century drawings and paintings³⁴.

PROVENANCE Filippo Baldinucci(?); Allan Ramsay; Lady Murray bequest 1860.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968; F. Viatte and C. Monbeig-Goguel 1981; E. Chini 1984; Macandrew 1990.

³⁴ as Symbolist or Surrealist images



e signo. Di mano di Francesco Montalati. Per Francesco del. ha gradito. pinn
 nel. Disegnato e. per. ha. Naturai. S. amari. Caccia. Basso.

16 A Dream

Red and black chalk. Some staining. Lower edge inscription on old backing paper, transcribed in Macandrew (1990).

386 + 255 mm

RSA 189

Francesco Maria Niccolo Gabburri (1675-1742) refers to Filippo Baldinucci's collection of about thirty such drawings, which he calls Montelatici's "sogni", or "dreams". However the inscription on this drawing appears to be in the hand of Gabburri and to have thus belonged to him³⁵. Macandrew refers to the meaning of the drawings, stating that they are not to be interpreted in any Freudian way, but are to be seen as relating to contemporary religious or mythological themes, although their meaning still remains obscure³⁶. Probably therefore a religious allegory, this drawing possibly shows Eve presenting the apple of wisdom to Adam, with leering grotesque monsters and faces surrounding him and filling the background, including the personification of Death, the skeleton with the scythe, all symbolising the horrors of the world after the Fall, as represented in apocalyptic images and literature of the Middle Ages and later³⁷.

The drawing is executed in both black and red chalks in outline only, from a lighter, sketchy to a heavier and sharper touch. The chalk strokes are evenly drawn; in the upper area light, even touches of black chalk swiftly and briefly outline the forms with an angular line which is continued in the lower figures. In the lower area larger faces, created of jagged eyes and mouths, loom to the surface and towards

³⁵ Macandrew (1990) cat.25 refers to the inscription and probable provenance of this and other such drawings

³⁶ c.f. F. Viatte and C. Monbeig-Goguel (1981) cat.83: "Sans doute, faut-il mettre ces dessins en relation avec la notion du combat entre les forces des tenebres et de la lumiere." etc. (p.138-9)

³⁷ I would suggest literary parallels such as Dante's *Inferno*, and in English, William Langland's nightmarish, moralising epic, *Piers Ploughman*, Milton's *Paradise Lost* and so on; and visual parallels in Northern art such as Bosch.

the spectator and the two human figures. The sharper and stronger lines of these lower figures further emphasise their angularity and draw the grotesque shapes from the densely chalked background. The style is thus one of linear simplification, recalling the capricci and caricature drawings of Guercino and Mola. As in these drawings there is little sense of spatial recession; the background is filled in with broad diagonals, as in Montelatici's figure studies. Moreover the dense packing of the figures and lines and the flattened background emphasise the hallucinatory nature of the subject, crowding into the isolated human figures with whom the spectator identifies. Further adding to this is the application of red chalk, lightly scattered across the surface. The grotesque features of the foreground leering faces are emphasised with sharp red lines, and the tints of the flesh of the human figures suggested with almost painterly and colouristic touches; showing a use similar to, although in a more dramatic context, Federico Zuccaro's use of it in his Landscape³⁸.

PROVENANCE Gabburi (?); Hone; David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1966.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968; Anna Barsanti 1986-87; Macandrew 1990.



II. GUERCINO

Giovanni Francesco Barberi, or "Il Guercino", "the squinter", was born and lived most of his life in Cento in central Italy, travelling to Rome in the 1620s and spending his final years in Bologna after the death of his major rival, Guido Reni. According to his biographer and friend Malvasia he was largely self taught, assimilating the styles of Emilia and Venice, and later of Rome, and particularly influenced by the Carracci.

Guercino's drawings have long been enjoyed and collected. A relentless draughtsman, Guercino himself preserved a large number of drawings which became part of his inheritance and were gradually dispersed by his descendants. In the eighteenth century the French connoisseur J.-P. Mariette was to exclaim "Les Anglois sont passionnes pour les dessins de Guercin"³⁹, a claim which to this day appears to hold true, with, for example, the exhibition of Guercino drawings from British collections held in 1991 in the British Museum, showing the great number of high quality drawings which have found their way into British collections⁴⁰. The seductive nature of Guercino's calligraphic line remains as potent now, if not more so, as in previous centuries.

17 Neptune

Pen, brown ink and wash. Laid down. Inscribed on verso "Guercino f". Small repair lower right corner and lower edge, upper edge slight staining.

196 + 250 mm

RSA 122

Andrews calls this a "characteristic early drawing"⁴¹; its style is similar to drawings executed before Guercino's visit to Rome in 1621, and recalls Ludovico Carracci's light pen and wash study of Two Standing Angels⁴². The drawing is executed in Guercino's favourite technique of pen and wash, rapidly marking the paper with a

³⁹ P.-J. Mariette, published 1841-60 Paris

⁴⁰ N. Turner/C. Plazzotta (ex. cat. 1991)

⁴¹ K. Andrews (1967) p.380 cat.6

⁴² see above cat 11

great control and vibrancy. Open strokes of curving lines create beautiful passages such as the single sweeping line of the draperies streaming out to Neptune's left and from his raised arm. This line quickly bends and curves to describe the form, leaving darker spots of ink in the deepest bends as the pen pressure varies as it moves, while in other areas, such as the fork held up at the right and the raised right arm, the ink application is dry, revealing Guercino's versatility with the pen and ink medium.

Neptune's head is rendered with a mass of lines, the hair and face almost dug from the ground in rapid, short strokes, which are repeated and built up with an intensity emphasised by the wash application. This head is similar in type to other heads drawn and painted by Guercino, such as the head of Jupiter in the drawing of Jupiter and Semele in the Royal Collection at Windsor⁴³.

Wash is applied with an economy, suggesting the shadows formed by sunlight rather than defining volume, as in the shadow of the left arm cast over Neptune's upper legs. Light touches of wash are added to the draperies and limbs and to the head, with a lighter application on the dolphins, suggesting tonality. The figure of Neptune is not anatomically accurate, but is executed with a vivacity of line and wash which suggest rather than pedantically describe muscular weight and flowing draperies. Movement and drama, even volume and tone are rapidly expressed with a simplicity which establishes the timeless beauty of such a drawing.

PROVENANCE Bindon Blood; David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1966.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968; Macandrew 1990.

⁴³ D. Mahon/N. Turner (1989) cat.36 (inv.2758)



18 A Dragon Observed By Spectators Behind a Wall

Pen and brown ink. Partly damaged; laid down.

181 + 155 mm

D 2231

This is a typical example of Guercino's capricci drawings of imaginative figures or beasts, often, as in this one, with a humourous element. Not drawn in preparation for a painted commission, such drawings were executed purely for private enjoyment. This type of autonomous drawing was a new phenomenon at the beginning of the seventeenth century, although it stems from the earlier drawings of Leonardo and the Carracci, and can be related to the development of the caricature drawing⁴⁴.

In comparison with the Neptune, this drawing is executed in a heavier hand and thicker line, although still with an expressive calligraphy and fluency. The creature is dramatically rendered in sharp lines, patterning rather than describing its volume, which is flattened in the compressed compositional field. The choice of pen is expedient to the subject, eloquently describing the patterns on the dragon. Short, swift strokes define the scales, and the upper spikes are briefly suggested in quick, strong lines, lifted from the ground to form the point of the spike. Space is flattened and hatching minimalised, except over the rock the dragon sits on, where the pen colours rather than shades. In the background the figures of the spectators are very briefly outlined in heavy lines; heads, hats and forks or pikes only just appearing, the contrast of their smallness overwhelmed by the size of the dragon producing a comic sense of the absurd and fantastic.

⁴⁴ see above, Agostino Carracci cat.9 (note 12) and below, Mola cat.20. This drawing compares with Leonardo's imaginative studies of monsters and so on. but perhaps drawn by him in greater detail and with less humour a century before Guercino, working in the freer ambience of the seventeenth century.

PROVENANCE Thomas Hudson; (Jonathon Richardson Snr, according to inscription on backing); W. F. Watson bequest 1881.

LITERATURE Catalogue National Gallery of Scotland 1946; Andrews 1968.



PIER FRANCESCO MOLA (1612-1666)

The son of an architect, Mola moved with his family to Rome in 1616, training in the studio of Il Cavaliere d'Arpino (Giuseppe Cesari, 1568-1640). In the 1640s he travelled to the north of Italy and assimilated the styles of Venetian and Bolognese art. Most of his life was however spent in Rome, where his style evolved and where he became a close friend of Pietro Testa, while coming into contact with Poussin and Pietro da Cortona. Mola has been described with Testa and Salvator Rosa as "crypto-romantic"⁴⁵; as then he was separate from the conventional seventeenth century artistic milieu. It is in his highly individual drawings rather than his paintings that Mola is most distinctive, although they have been frequently wrongly attributed and confused with his predecessors and contemporaries.

19 Two Sleeping Figures with Still Life of Flasks and Bottles

Pen, brown ink and brown wash. Laid down, the backing paper inscribed in a modern hand "Mola / no.7".

217 + 280 mm

D 5147

Macandrew dates this drawing to between 1650 and 1660, and comments on its excellent condition. The figures and flasks are executed with an informal freedom of expression and representation, similar to the genre studies of the Carracci and Guercino. Unrelated to any painted composition, this type of drawing was developed by Mola and others, showing a freedom of execution, bold informality and an idiosyncratic nature which could only be achieved in the ambience of the mid-seventeenth century.

A loose, but heavy, pen line explores the forms of the sleeping figures, vigourously describing contours in broken outlines. Brief areas of rough hatching are executed in quick detached strokes, curving around the lower back of the right figure, while

⁴⁵ R. Wittkower (1965) p.215



Fig 9: Nicolas Poussin

View of the Avetine c1645

Bistre wash, faint black chalk underdrawing

Uffizi

flattening and simplifying the planes of the upper figure, seen for example in the brilliantly reductive representation of the feet, almost caricatured.

A heavy, descriptive wash sweeps over these brief outlines, denying contours and almost digging into the forms, recalling Guercino's drawing of Neptune, where the ink application digs into the surface with a powerful depth of colour, bringing expression and shaping the forms. Mola's wash however is heavier and more watery and fluid than Guercino's; his style is less calligraphic and more pictorial, the combination of pen and wash almost painting the figures on the surface, extending the tonal range of the graphic media in a style similar to Poussin's wash drawing style (fig 9). The wash is applied with a light, broad application, or with a deep digging; in some areas watery, smudging the ink outlines, and in others dry and almost chalky. The flasks and bottles are loosely outlined with the point of a dry brush in a controlled hand, dabbing wash across the forms, to shade and structure the individual volumes and spatial inter-relations.

Against the depth of the fluid ink application, the contrasting ground creates highlights in the unpainted areas of the figures, while separating them with an expanse of blank ground. Space is suggested by the poses of the figures, but the three elements of the drawing are only held together through the imagination. Mola thus exploits the reaction of media and ground, while abstracting of the figures' poses, light, and space. An expressive suggestion of the quiet moment of sleep, the drawing is rendered from the imagination as an emotional response to the subject.

PROVENANCE Kate Ganz Ltd., London, from whom purchased by the National Gallery in 1987.

LITERATURE Turner 1989; Macandrew 1990.



20 Study of a Man with a Hat

Pen and brown ink, on faded blue paper.

225 + 145 mm

D 4897

This drawing was formerly attributed to Guercino⁴⁶; in style and in type it can be compared to Guercino's Dragon. The head is a caricature, of the genre only developed at the end of the sixteenth century reputedly by the Carracci. Strong outlines form an exaggerated depiction of the man's features, emphasising the pointed shape of his beard through the echoing forms of his nose, side whiskers, and the enormous points of his collar. Contrasting with these pointed shapes is the large rounded form of the hat. Through such exaggerations, contrasts and repetitions, a sense of comedy and of visual punning is moreover suggested.

The style of execution is controlled and steady, the graphic instrument used with a simplicity, as in cartoon drawings. Strong pen lines outline and reduce the head to simplified forms, with some hatching on the nose and eyes, emphasising these features in a similar way as Agostino in his Head of a Bearded Man dug the eyes of the figure with a deep ink application, and in his sheets of repeated studies, in which shapes and forms are reduced into patterns, from which the caricature, exaggerating a particular element of the pattern, is only one step away⁴⁷.

Mola's sources and relation to his predecessors is thus apparent in both this drawing and the above; an individual, as Testa and Rosa, he is like them indebted to

⁴⁶ Andrews (1968) accepts the attribution of Guercino, put forward by Mahon.

⁴⁷ see above, Agostino Carracci on the Carracci contribution to caricature, cats.12/14 and Gombrich (1960) on the evolution of caricature "The invention of portrait caricature presupposes the theoretical discovery of the difference between likeness and equivalence" following from the supposition that "All artistic discoveries are discoveries not of likenesses but of equivalents which enable us to see reality in terms of an image and an image in terms of reality" (p.290/292)

his sources, while at the same time evolving a style which develops from them and comes to life in his free use of the graphic medium.

PROVENANCE Getrude Bing; bequeathed to the National Gallery 1965.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968.



SALVATOR ROSA (1615-1673)

As Pietro Testa, Salvator Rosa stood outside the mainstream artistic current of the seventeenth century, although unlike Testa he enjoyed a much greater success with his painted and graphic works. Born near Naples, his early training took place there, until in 1635 he moved to Rome. Rosa was famous for his battle scenes, learnt from his Neapolitan master Aniello Falcone, as well as for histories and landscapes, a genre in which he competed with Claude. His style was further influenced by the Spaniard Giuseppe Ribera in his early years in Naples. He was also known as a writer of poetry and satire and for his reputation as a wit. Rosa has been romanticised by subsequent writers, but his drawings, with their fury of execution and spontaneity of expression, have held an undiminished appeal from his own to the present day.

21 Two Men on Hilly Ground Near a Group of Trees.

Pen and brown ink. Laid down. Inscribed on the mount "Salvator Rosa".

288 + 215 mm

D 667

This light sketch is a fine example of Rosa's graphic work, showing the attractiveness which has assured the popularity of his drawings, here almost suggesting the intimacy and immediacy of Rembrandt's well-loved drawings. The trees and figures are rendered with a delicate yet confident touch in a fine line, briefly suggesting form. Rapid, short strokes loosely outline the leaves and branches of the trees, with quick horizontal dashes curving around the trunk in a rough attempt at modelling. The figures are drawn with a more angular line, abstracted into schematised representations, with large spikey hands emphasising gesture and strong diagonals pushing them into the picture and suggesting movement. Some brief hatching lines colour and loosely shape the figures, while to the right of the left figure rapid horizontal lines define his shadow and the ground he is walking on. Light and space are thus realised with a linear simplicity, as well



Fig 10: Leonardo da Vinci

Copse of Beeches c1508

Red chalk

Royal Collection, Windsor Castle

as through the very positioning of the trees and figures on the ground, set into the sheet, recalling Leonardo's beautiful red chalk study of a Copse of Beeches (fig 10), and Agostino Carracci's Head of a Bearded Man above, with its simple yet powerful evocation of space through the reaction of line and ground.

PROVENANCE David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1910.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968; Mahoney 1965.



22 A Warrior Defending Himself

Pen and brown ink and wash over black chalk. Laid down.

152 + 108 mm

RSA 263

Mahoney dates this study and the above to around 1650⁴⁸, the middle of Rosa's career. This drawing is probably a study for one of Rosa's battle paintings; compared to the above it is a more dramatic sketch, although again with a certain attractiveness and simplicity of execution. The figure is drawn with an excited, vibrant line which rapidly explores its form and movement in space. The black chalk base sketch is apparent to the right of the lower leg in a first pose which Rosa has redefined in pen and ink at a different, more dramatic angle. Throughout the study further pentimenti lines show Rosa's rapid working method; two heads and three shields are drawn in varying angles and positions, each changing the expression of the figure's movement as Rosa searches for the most successful and powerful image.

The rapidity of the pen line furthermore itself reflects the energetic movement of the figure, first sketching him with a thin scratching, apparent in the raised left leg drawn in light strokes barely touching the surface, but developing to the the inky, almost painterly overdrawing. This heavier line draws the figure's shoulders and back muscles, and the skirt of his armour, in strong, open, curving strokes, and with a cursive, yet decisive, dash defines the bend of the right knee, forming the structural pivot on which the diagonal thrust of the figure's dynamic movement rests. Hurlled through space, the figure is thus drawn with an exuberant freedom, showing the speed of Rosa's execution and the even faster flow of his ideas. Light touches of wash are added to the right of the figure, which, while balancing with

⁴⁸ M. Mahoney (1977) cats.35.2 (D 667) and 41.21 (RSA 263).

the strong stroke of the bent knee and roughly defining the back of the calf, briefly suggest light and add to the dramatic energy of the figure's movement.

PROVENANCE David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1966.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968; Mahoney 1977.



23 Head of a Bearded Man

Red chalk. Inscribed in a contemporary hand in black chalk, lower edge "Questo e il ribaldo di Alessandro..."

337 + 233 mm

D 1593

This powerful drawing has been speculatively attributed to Rosa; it is however unusual in his oeuvre as he executed few chalk drawings, his style more suited to the dramatic flourishes of pen and wash⁴⁹. The purpose of the drawing is unknown; highly finished for a preparatory study, it was perhaps therefore drawn as an independent finished work.

The head fills the picture plane, drawn in controlled, flowing lines, varying in strength of application to suggest volume and texture. The features of the face are described in short, delicate, closely-knit strokes, with some stumping blurring the contours and softly moulding the forms. This use of red chalk can be compared to Rosso Fiorentino's Seated Female Nude above, where Rosso also suggested the features of the face with blurred chalk outlines in contrast to the harder lines describing the rest of the form. Rosa surrounds the face with a dense pattern of sharp lines drawing the hair and beard, differentiating them from the facial features as in Rosso's drawing. These hair lines curve and flow around the face and diagonally across the ground, bringing a powerful dynamism, reflected in the figure's dramatic frowning expression and slightly open mouth. Although for the most part uniformly applied, the lines of the hair vary in their spacing, suggesting light in areas of more open lines, and adding deeper shadow in denser areas and with heavier stumping. Volume and light are thus realised through a full

⁴⁹ see Andrews (1968) and Macandrew (1990) cat.31 for dating c1660 and attribution due to Pouncey.

exploitation of the chalk's always limited flexibility. Furthermore, highlights are formed through the contrast of the ground against the assured chalk application. Thus with the single graphic instrument, a painterly effect is achieved, the ground and medium reacting to highlight and shade the form, as the chalk describes texture and a warm tonality. A sense of drama and movement, a painterly style and lack of spatial definition, set the drawing - as Rosa's drawings - firmly in the seventeenth century and the Baroque period.

PROVENANCE David Laing; Royal Scottish Academy; transferred to the National Gallery 1910.

LITERATURE Andrews 1968; Mahoney 1977; Macandrew 1990.

ARTISTS REPRESENTED IN THE EXHIBITION

FEDERICO BAROCCI	The Visitation (cat 1) Three-quarter view head etc (cat 2)
LUCA CAMBIASO	Rape of the Sabines (cat 3)
AGOSTINO CARRACCI	Head of a Bearded Man (cat 9)
ANNIBALE CARRACCI	River Landscape with Boats (cat 8)
LUDOVICO CARRACCI	St. Paul Being Carried to the Third Heaven (cat 10) Two Standing Angels (cat 11)
BATTISTA FRANCO	God the Father (cat 12)
IL GUERCINO	Neptune (cat 17) A Dragon Observed by Spectators Behind a Wall (cat 18)
PIER FRANCESCO MOLA	Two Sleeping Figures (cat 19) Study of a Man with a Hat (cat 20)
FRANCESCO MONTELATICI	Male Nude with Wings (cat 15)
(CECCO BRAVO)	A Dream (cat 16)
SALVATOR ROSA	Two Men on Hilly Ground (cat 21) A Warrior Defending Himself (cat 22) Head of a Bearded Man (cat 23)
ROSSO FIORENTINO	Seated Female Nude with Raised Arms (cat 14)
PIETRO TESTA	Study for the Massacre of the Innocents (cat 4) Study for the Massacre of the Innocents (cat 5) Study of the Holy Family (cat 6)
FEDERICO ZUCCARO	Landscape View (cat 7)
TADDEO ZUCCARO	Studies of Reclining Male and Female Figures (cat 13)

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